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# THE ART BULLETIN

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# MINIATURES OF THE FABLES OF BIDPAI AND OF THE LIFE OF AESOP IN THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

By MYRTILLA AVERY

**A**MONG the treasures in the manuscript section of The Pierpont Morgan Library is a collection of ancient folk-tales (MS 397) written in a Greek script which has been placed and dated as South Italian of the late tenth century.<sup>1</sup> The following texts are found on its one hundred and twelve folios: a fragment of the Fables of Bidpai, or *Kalilah and Dimnah*, fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>; Physiologus,<sup>2</sup> fols. 8<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>v</sup>; Life of Aesop, fols. 22<sup>r</sup>-67<sup>v</sup>; two hundred and twenty-six fables of Aesop, fols. 67<sup>v</sup>-108<sup>r</sup>; thirty-one of the fables of Babrius,<sup>3</sup> fols. 108<sup>r</sup>-112<sup>v</sup>; seven of the "witty sayings" (ἀστέια) from the *Philogelos* of Hierocles and Philagrius,<sup>4</sup> fol. 112<sup>v</sup>. Of these texts, only the Bidpai fables and the Life of Aesop are illustrated.

The Bidpai fragment has been edited and published by Mrs. Elinor Husselman of the University of Michigan,<sup>5</sup> who discovered that the Morgan text was unique and earlier than the current Greek version. The text of the Life and Fables of Aesop has been described and discussed at some length by Professor B. E. Perry of the University of Illinois,<sup>6</sup> who found the Life to be "the oldest form in which we know it." Professor Perry will include the complete Morgan text of the Life and Fables, with commentary and notes, in his forthcoming comprehensive edition of the principal versions.<sup>7</sup>

1. See The Pierpont Morgan Library, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts held at the New York Public Library, Catalogue . . .* by Belle da Costa Greene and Meta P. Harrsen, New York, 1934, p. 7.

2. The Physiologus, ancestor of the Bestiaries, generally believed to have been compiled in Alexandria in the second or early third century A.D. The Morgan text has been briefly discussed by Professor B. E. Perry in his review of Sbordone's edition of the Greek text of the Physiologus, in which he pronounces it to be "the best and probably also the oldest of all Greek manuscripts of the Physiologus" (see *American Journal of Philology*, LVIII, 1937, 492). Since the Morgan text is not included in Sbordone's study, Professor Perry has promised to publish an edition in the near future. No Greek text earlier than the eleventh- or twelfth-century Smyrna manuscript (lost in the fire of 1922 but published by Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus*, Leipzig, 1899) is known, but evidences that one existed have been adduced in an article on the ninth-century Physiologus in the Stadtbibliothek at Bern by Helen Woodruff (*ART BULLETIN*, XII, 1930, 226-53).

3. Fables in Greek choliambic verse by Babrius, probably a Roman of the first century A.D. (cf. Ox. Papyrus 1249). The name has been thought to be oriental, perhaps Syrian. The Morgan text has been published by Elinor Mullett Husselman, "A Lost Manuscript of the Fables of Babrius" (*American Philological Association, Transactions*, LXVI, 1935, 104-26).

4. This collection known under the title Φιλόγελος ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροκλέους καὶ Φιλαργίου γραμματικῶν has been edited by A. Eberhard (Berlin, 1869). It consists of two hundred and sixty-four witticisms, generally satirical, of which the first one hundred and three have as their targets scholars

and clever lawyers; following these, a miscellaneous group includes the witty and the witless, misers, swindlers, cowards, drunkards, and finally men afflicted with halitosis (ὀδύστομοι); at the end is an appendix of miscellaneous subjects, some of which repeat those in the earlier groups, suggesting that this collection is a redaction of earlier writings by the two otherwise unknown grammarians. A *terminus post quem* is supplied in an allusion (Eberhard edition, p. 19, ¶62) to the Thousand Year Festival of the city of Rome (248 A.D.), but the language of the collection is said to indicate a later date, certainly not earlier than the fourth century (see Christ-Schmid, *Gesch. der griech. Lit.*, 6th ed., II, 1049f [Iwan von Müller, *Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, VII, II, 2]).

A brief study of the Morgan fragment is promised by Professor B. E. Perry, who has noticed one new "witticism" among its seven ἀστέια.

5. "A Fragment of Kalilah and Dimnah; from MS 397 in the Pierpont Morgan Library," London, 1939, *Studies and Documents*, ed. by Kirsopp Lake . . . and Silva Lake, x, *Kalilah and Dimnah*.

6. *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop* (*American Philological Association, Monographs*, ed. by L. Arnold Post, VII), 1936. The Morgan text of the Life is also discussed in Professor Perry's "Text Tradition of the Greek Life of Aesop," *American Philological Association, Transactions*, LXIV, 1933, 198-244.

7. A brief discussion of the miniatures in the Morgan codex was originally intended to supplement a joint publication of the texts by Mrs. Husselman and Professor Perry, but circumstances preventing this, they have kindly permitted me to utilize their studies in this article. I wish also to thank Professor M. Sprengling of the Oriental Insti-

All the published studies of the texts agree in showing that the Morgan codex is a copy by a rather ignorant and careless scribe, of another Greek manuscript which was mutilated when the copy was made. There are many lacunae and obvious errors. Nevertheless, the codex is of cardinal importance to students of folk-tales, since it contains the earliest known Greek translation of Bidpai fables, probably the oldest known Greek manuscript of the *Physiologus*, the earliest known version of the *Life and Fables of Aesop*, four complete fables of Babrius not found elsewhere, and a new "witticism" in the short fragment of the *Philogelos*. Every one of the six texts in Morgan MS 397, therefore, makes unique contribution to the study of its subject.

Added to this is the important discovery made by Mrs. Husselman that this codex is no other than the one formerly numbered A 33 in the library of the Basilian monastery of Grottaferrata, missing, according to Rocchi's catalogue of that library, since the Napoleonic wars and long lamented by Aesopic scholars.<sup>8</sup>

In such a manuscript the miniatures have an interest quite regardless of their obvious aesthetic defects. Their resemblance to certain Exultet Rolls was noted on sight by the dean of American stylistic critics of Italian painting,<sup>9</sup> and anyone familiar with early South Italian miniatures will recognize at once the characteristic peculiarities. Although only two of the six texts were planned for illumination, these two were to be copiously illustrated: the Bidpai fragment with twenty-one miniatures, and the *Life of Aesop* with fifty-eight miniatures, of which seven were executed and the remaining fifty-one spaces left unfilled.<sup>10</sup> There are no unfilled spaces in the Bidpai text. These illustrations were planned and the miniatures (except a later insertion on fol. 59<sup>v</sup>) were drawn and painted before the text was written. This is apparent from the way the script is neatly fitted around the figures in numerous instances,<sup>11</sup> and if further proof is needed, the writing is clearly over the color on folios 1<sup>v</sup>, 2<sup>r</sup>, 22<sup>v</sup> (Figs. 2; 4, accent; 20).

The Fables of Bidpai, the famous beast stories of Sanscrit origin, said to have been told to an Indian king of the third or fourth century A. D. by his philosopher, Bidpai, were translated into Pahlavi in the sixth century, and from Pahlavi into Arabic about 750.<sup>12</sup> Soon

tute of Chicago for his courtesy in making available to me the Institute's valuable collection of photographs of Bidpai manuscripts; also the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University for use of its material on Arabic illumination; and I take this opportunity to express appreciation of the coöperation of Miss Belle da Costa Greene, whose generosity in putting at the disposal of scholars the abundant resources of the Morgan Library is well known.

As the varied contents of this manuscript have led me into unfamiliar fields, I have consulted many scholars whose help I also gratefully acknowledge; in particular, Ben E. Perry of the University of Illinois; Richard Ettinghausen of the University of Michigan; Harold W. Glidden, recently of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem; Kurt Weitzmann of the Institute for Advanced Study; Helen Woodruff, Editor of the Princeton Index of Christian Art; and Sirarpie Der Nersessian of Wellesley College.

8. The argument for the identification of the Morgan manuscript as *Cryptoferratensis* A 33 is the subject of the first chapter (pp. 3-11) of Mrs. Husselman's edition of the Bidpai text (see note 5). This involved a collation and description of the Morgan codex from which the following items affecting the miniatures are repeated here: folios 1 and 8 are missing from the first gathering, i.e., before the present fol. 1 and after fol. 6; the manuscript was written by more than one hand, the first covering fols. 1-29; the

script is "strongly reminiscent of manuscripts written in the Greek monasteries of South Italy. The date . . . should probably be set between 980 and 1050."

9. The entry for this manuscript in the Morgan Library catalogue, cited in note 1, contains this comment: "Mr. Bernard Berenson . . . has placed the illumination of this manuscript in South Italy, with particular reference to the cruder Exultet Rolls."

10. Besides these, there are two crude drawings, obviously casual interpolations: a sketch of a man in the space below the completed text of the *Physiologus* on folio 21<sup>v</sup>, facing a portrait of Aesop at the beginning of the *Life* (Aesop? or possibly "the *Physiologus*," δ Φυσιολόγος, the unidentified or imaginary author who is often quoted in the text); and a nondescript marginal drawing of a bust on fol. 46<sup>r</sup>, possibly an attempt to depict the Rustic, or the wife of Xanthus.

11. A convincing example of this appears on fol. 23<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 21) where the scribe, not having room to finish the word σκάπτειν, wrote the last letter after the intruding foot of the figure at right.

12. The Pahlavi version was translated for a Sasanian king by his physician, Barzoe. It is known only through its translation into Arabic and into Syriac about 570. This Syriac translation from Pahlavi was displaced in the tenth or eleventh century by another one from the Arabic, after which the "Old Syriac" version was lost sight of until re-



after, both the Sanscrit original and the Pahlavi translation were lost, and the tales became widely known in East and West in the Arabic version under the title of *Kalilah and Dimnah*, from the Arabic form of the names of the two jackals whose deeds and sayings are the subject of the first and principal portion of the fables. The current Greek translation from the Arabic was made about 1080 by Symeon Seth,<sup>13</sup> but the Morgan version differs widely from it. For convenient reference I have used the title *Bidpai* in this article, although the Morgan text is doubtless translated from the Arabic.

The Morgan fragment contains parts of three of the last four fables of the Arabic translation, as found in De Sacy's *editio princeps*.<sup>14</sup> All the introductory conversation between the Indian king and his philosopher, Bidpai, and the long story of Kalilah and Dimnah are therefore missing. The first of the three tales begins in the middle of the story, but from there on, except for a lacuna caused by a missing folio,<sup>15</sup> the Morgan text seems to be continuous to the end of the book. The second tale, the only one of the three which preserves its beginning, is introduced like other tales of the Arabic original, by a conversation between the Indian king and his philosopher, both of whom however are unnamed but described as "aforementioned." The ending of this tale and all the first part of the third are lost with the missing folio. After the third tale, the frame story is resumed in a moralizing conversation between the Indian king and his philosopher.

The following description and discussion of the three fables in their relation to the Arabic and late eleventh-century Greek translations is a free quotation from Mrs. Husselman's monograph:<sup>16</sup>

The first tale is the story of the king's son and his three companions who met on a road. In the Arabic translation<sup>17</sup> the king's son maintains that all things are ordered by providence; the merchant's son extols understanding and education; the handsome son of a nobleman declares that beauty surpasses all else; the husbandman's son praises industry. When they arrive at a city, each man in turn is sent to procure food. The husbandman's son gathers wood and receives a piece of silver with which he buys a hearty meal for the four; the next day, the nobleman's son captures the fancy of a lady, who after a day's dalliance gives him 500 pieces of silver; the merchant's son by lucky trading makes a hundred thousand pieces. But on the fourth day, the king's son on arriving at the city finds that the king has just died, whereupon his royal blood being discovered, the king's son is made king. As his companions had written up their day's achievement on the city gate, the king's son also has inscribed upon it the legend that "Labor and beauty and knowledge and everything good are due to the providence of God." The three companions are then summoned to the king's court and rewarded. After their arrival several courtiers join in praise of the king's wisdom and one of them relates that when he was a slave he pledged himself to free a soul if thereby he might gain freedom. So he bought two doves with his last penny whereupon they led him to buried treasure.

covered by chance in the nineteenth century (Gustav Bickell and Theodor Benfey, *Kalilag und Damnah; alte syrische Übersetzung des indischen Fürstenspiegels*, Leipzig, 1876). The Arabic version is the basis for translations into Ethiopic, Malay, Mongol, Turkish, Hebrew, Spanish, and the Greek version of about 1080 referred to in the text. The Hebrew version was retranslated into Latin in the thirteenth century by John of Capua, and on this text were based various translations into western European languages. The bibliography is too extensive to be given here, but the reader is referred to I. G. N. Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah; or, the Fables of Bidpai*, Cambridge University Press, 1885.

These tales, intended to teach "worldly wisdom of Machiavellian variety" by precept and example, are still current in India as the *Panchatantra*, in various versions.

See Franklin Edgerton, *The Panchatantra Reconstructed*, 2 vols. (*American Oriental Series*, II, III, New Haven, 1924).

13. The version entitled *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, from the Greek names given by the translator to Kalilah and Dimnah. This text has been edited by Vittorio Puntoni, *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*, Florence, 1889 (*Società asiatica italiana, Pubblicazioni*, II).

14. Silvestre de Sacy, *Calila et Dimna, ou, Fables de Bidpai, en arabe*, Paris, 1816, p. 4.

15. Cf. note 8.

16. Cf. note 5.

17. Mrs. Husselman bases her account of the Arabic tales on the translation into English of De Sacy's text by William Knatchbull (*Kalilah and Dimnah*, Oxford, 1819) and adds that in further studies she found no important variants in the three fables of the Morgan manuscript. Cf. her monograph, p. 14, note 8.

When asked how they were able to perceive treasure and yet were not able to avoid the fowler's net they too ascribed all to providence.

The whole of the first part of this story is lacking in the Morgan manuscript which begins with fifteen lines of Byzantine twelve-syllable verse in praise of *ἐντολή*, the divine decree. These verses, probably an elaboration of the king's inscription placed on the city gate, are inclosed in a full-page ornamental border representing a gate (Fig. 1). The tale then proceeds in the Morgan version from the point at which the prince is made king of the city. The Greek version of Symeon Seth agrees with the Arabic translation but ends with the king's invitation to his three companions to share in the benefits of his court.

In the second tale of the Morgan version a wolf leaves his cubs while he goes hunting. In his absence a lion finds and eats the cubs. The wolf on his return laments loudly, calling for his children. When the mother-wolf returns, the parents bewail their loss and decide to lay their case before the king, who is called Azachar but shown as a lion in the miniatures. He reproaches the wolves, pointing out that they have caused others to suffer when they have eaten young animals. So they decide to eat figs. The birds begin to die of hunger and seek redress from the king. After a second admonition, the wolves begin to eat reptiles. These in turn complain to the king, who again summons the wolves. At this point occurs the lacuna in the text caused by the loss of a folio of the original gathering.<sup>18</sup>

The Morgan version of this tale differs both from the Arabic and from the Greek translation of Symeon Seth. In both the Arabic and Seth versions a lioness leaves her cubs in a thicket, where a huntsman finds, kills, and skins, but does not eat them. The lamentations of the lioness are overheard and she is reproached by a jackal, in the Arabic translation, and in the Seth translation, by a bear. In the latter, the lioness, convinced of the justice of the bear's reproof, leaves off eating flesh and lives on fruit for the rest of her life. Here the Greek tale ends, but the Arabic continues with a woodpigeon who complains that the lioness robs her of her accustomed food, whereupon the lioness decides to live on grass. The Morgan version is therefore again nearer to the Arabic than to the Seth translation. Certain variations from the Arabic may be due to misunderstanding of the language by the Greek translator.<sup>19</sup> The substitution for the jackal of a king named Azachar might be explained as a transliteration of the Arabic word for jackal, *ash-sha-'har*, which the translator took for a proper name. So also the Arabic word for herbage on which the lioness feeds is *hashish* which might have been confused with *hasharat*, used of small reptiles or insects, or possibly with *hishash*, used of creeping insects. Since the end of the tale is missing in the Morgan text, we do not know whether the grass-eating incident was also included or not.

The fragmentary third fable on the next folio (following the lacuna) begins with the last word of a sentence and reads as follows: "bare (*γύμνος*). In the morning a man came along the road seeking white feathers. But when he reached the place he found black feathers and white. So he picked them up and went off. But the crow stood still when he saw the feathers going off and said: 'Alas, how miserable, greedy and senseless I am, since in seeking for white feathers I have lost my own black ones. . . .' So he spoke and not long after he died." The moral of this tale corresponds to that of the Arabic fable of the Hermit and his Guest, but the incident differs completely. In the Arabic and Seth versions a man visits a monk who speaks in Hebrew. The guest admires the language and wishes to learn it, but the monk dissuades him, relating the story of the crow that wanted to walk like a partridge but could neither acquire the new gait nor return to his natural manner.

The loss of the folio between this tale and the one preceding makes it impossible to know whether this was a separate fable in the Morgan text or was connected with the story of the wolves. The latter is suggested by the moral immediately following which advises that we should be content with our own possessions "so that it may not happen to us as it happened to the *aforesaid wolf and the aforesaid black crow*."

This description will explain the following titles of the twenty-one miniatures reproduced in Figs. 1-18:<sup>20</sup>

18. See note 8.

19. Mrs. Husselman attributes to Professor Sprengling of the Oriental Institute of Chicago the discussion of Arabic words considered as possible sources of error which follows in the text.

20. Figs. 1-25 are reproduced from Pierpont Morgan Library photographs. Figs. 29-32, 34, 37-39, are from Frick Art Reference Library negatives. For these and other courtesies, I am grateful to both these libraries.





Fig. 1



Fig. 4



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

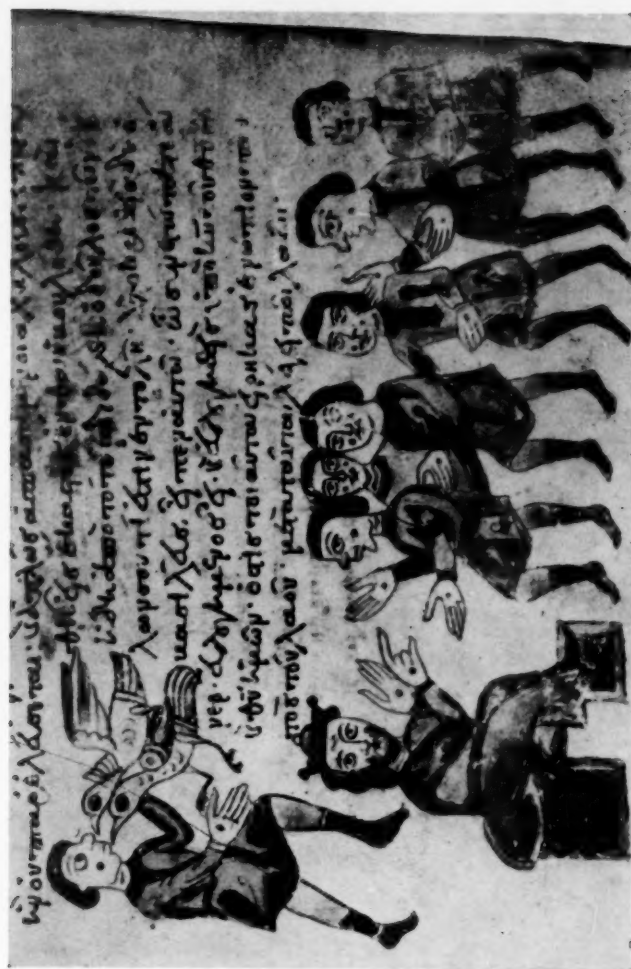


Fig. 6



Fig. 5

FIGS. 1-6—NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY: MS 397, FABLES OF BIDPAI AND LIFE OF AESOP, SOUTH ITALIAN, CA. 1000

Fig. 1—Decorative page, fol. 1r. Fig. 2—The King and his Three Companions, fol. 1r. Fig. 3—The King Extolled by a Courtier, fol. 2r. Fig. 4—The King and Courtiers, fol. 2r. Fig. 5—Purchase of the Two Birds, fol. 2v. Fig. 6—a) The Birds and their Liberator; b) The King and Courtiers, fol. 3r



Fig. 7



Fig. 11



Fig. 8

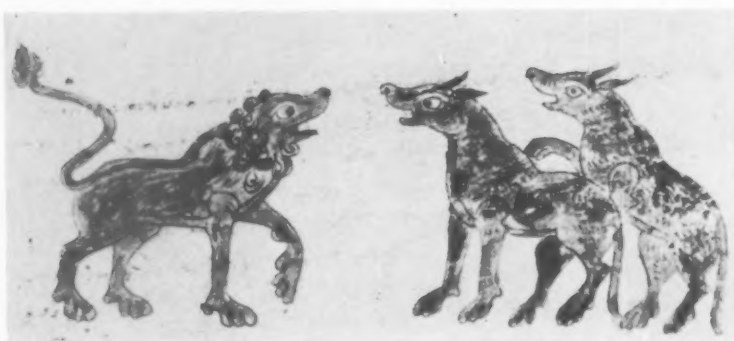


Fig. 12



Fig. 9



Fig. 13



Fig. 10



Fig. 14

FIGS. 7-14—NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY: MS 397, FABLES OF BIDPAI  
AND LIFE OF AESOP, SOUTH ITALIAN, CA. 1000

Fig. 7—The King and his Companions, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>. Fig. 8—The Indian King and Bidpai, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>. Fig. 9—The Lion Devouring the Young Wolf, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>. Fig. 10—The Father-Wolf Returns, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>. Fig. 11—The Parent-Wolves Lamenting, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>. Fig. 12—The Wolves Complain to King Azachar, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>. Fig. 13—The Wolves Eat Figs, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>. Fig. 14—The Birds Complain to the King, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18

FIGS. 15-18—NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY: MS 397, FABLES OF BIDPAI AND LIFE OF AESOP, SOUTH ITALIAN, CA. 1000

Fig. 15—The Wolves before the King, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>. Fig. 16—a) The Wolves Eat Reptiles; b) The Reptiles Complain to the King; c) The Wolves Summoned Again, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>. Fig. 17—Fable of the Crow and White Feathers, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>. Fig. 18—The Indian King and Bidpai, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>





Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25

FIGS. 19-25—NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY: MS 397, FABLES OF BIDPAI AND LIFE OF AESOP, SOUTH ITALIAN, CA. 1000

Fig. 19—Portrait of Aesop, fol. 22<sup>r</sup>. Fig. 20—Aesop Rebuked by his Master, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>. Fig. 21—Punishment of the False Accuser, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>. Fig. 22—Aesop and the Priestess of Isis, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>. Fig. 23—The Priestess of Isis in Prayer, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>. Fig. 24—Aesop Asleep, fol. 24<sup>r</sup>. Fig. 25—Aesop and King Lycurgus, fol. 59<sup>v</sup>

- 1) Decorative page: Praise of *ἐντολή* (divine decree), fol. 1<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 1)
- 2) The king and his three companions, fol. 1<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 2)
- 3) The king extolled by a courtier, fol. 2<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 3)
- 4) Another courtier begs to speak in praise of *ἐντολή* while the three companions feast, fol. 2<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 4)
- 5) Purchase of the two birds, fol. 2<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 5)
- 6) The birds addressing their liberator, fol. 3<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 6)
- 7) The king and courtiers, fol. 3<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 6)
- 8) The king and his three companions, fol. 3<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 7)
- 9) The Indian king and the philosopher, Bidpai, fol. 4<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 8)
- 10) The lion devouring the young wolf, fol. 4<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 9)
- 11) The father-wolf returns, fol. 4<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 10)
- 12) The parent-wolves lamenting, fol. 4<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 11)
- 13) The wolves complain to King Azachar (a lion), fol. 5<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 12)
- 14) The wolves eat figs, fol. 5<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 13)
- 15) The birds complain to the king, fol. 6<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 14)
- 16) The wolves before the king, fol. 6<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 15)
- 17) The wolves eat reptiles, fol. 6<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 16)
- 18) The reptiles complain to the king, fol. 6<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 16)
- 19) The wolves again summoned before the king, fol. 6<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 16)
- 20) Fable of the crow and white feathers, fol. 7<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 17)
- 21) The Indian king and Bidpai, fol. 7<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 18)

It is evident even from the list of titles that these miniatures were designed for this text, emphasizing its unique features: wolves instead of the lioness; a lion for the huntsman; the reptiles; the feather story. In the tale of the wolves, the lion is obviously eating the cub (Fig. 9) though in the Arab translation the huntsman kills and skins them. Mrs. Husselman's explanation of the substitution of "King Azachar" for a jackal as a misunderstanding of the Arabic is almost certainly valid, but I do not think his representation as a lion necessarily implies an Arab prototype for the miniature as she suggests,<sup>21</sup> since in all the tales of Bidpai the lion is recognized as king.

In the miniatures for the first tale, there are several minor evidences that the Morgan version was being followed. In summoning the three companions, the Morgan text specifies that they should be invited to eat at the king's court (thereby recognizing his obligation to provide a day's food), and accordingly they are shown seated at table (Fig. 4). Their costume changes with their status at court: in Figure 2 they are shown just as they arrive and are agreeing whole-heartedly with the king's son that he was right and they were quite wrong; but in Figure 7, having been raised to high position, they are crowned and in court costume. Here too the Morgan text is followed, since in the Arabic translation only two of the companions are retained at court, the handsome man being rewarded with a sum of money, but sent away lest he should corrupt the morals of the ladies of the court.

The close connection between the second and third fables, as brought out in the moral drawn from the third tale, certainly provides some reason for believing that the Morgan fragment (before it lost its two folios) was a copy of a continuous Greek translation of the last gathering of an Arab manuscript. If this gathering, probably mutilated, was all that the translator had in hand, it would explain the Byzantine versified amplification of the legend which now serves as an introduction to the fragmentary first tale (Fig. 1) and, while written within an ornamental border suggesting the city gate, also takes its place as a decorated first page. A confirmation of this theory was supplied by Mr. Harold W. Glidden,

21. Mrs. Husselman's suggestion is that an Arabic miniature showed the lioness complaining to the jackal, but was

misunderstood by the translator.

who kindly examined the Arabic texts and pointed out that the Greek translator who mistook the Arabic word for jackal (as suggested by Mrs. Husselman) could not have known the preceding story of the Lion and Jackal (De Sacy, Chap. XIII) since in that tale the same word is used and explained.<sup>22</sup>

Professor Perry's erudite discussion of the Morgan Life of Aesop, though written for Aesopic scholars, is full of details of general interest, and to this the reader is referred. Here, only the conclusions immediately affecting a discussion of the miniatures are summarized, as follows:

The Morgan Life of Aesop is the earliest version at present known except for papyrus fragments, and these show connections with the Morgan text. It goes back to an archetype composed or rewritten between 100 B.C. and 200 A.D., and for reasons explained, a date in the second century A.D. is probable.<sup>23</sup> It has much substance not elsewhere extant, and differs in many significant details from the later and commonly known versions, which however also ultimately depend upon the same archetype.<sup>24</sup> It appears to have been deliberately left out of the twelfth-century Paris manuscript (Bib. nat., suppl. 690) "and from that time on no traces of it are found in any of the manuscripts of Aesop."<sup>25</sup> An interesting feature indicative of an early date for the archetype is the important rôle assigned to Isis and the Muses.

The text illustrated covers the following: (1) The description of Aesop, representing him as deformed and dumb; (2) The story of the figs intrusted by Aesop's master to servants, who having eaten them accuse Aesop, whereupon Aesop is summoned by his master and angrily reproached; being dumb he begs by signs to be allowed to demonstrate that not he but his accusers are the culprits; when this is proved the master orders that the false accusers receive the punishment which was to have been imposed upon Aesop; (3) The appearance to Aesop of a priestess of Isis who inquires the way to the city, and in return for his courteous treatment implores Isis to grant to Aesop the gift of speech; Aesop goes to sleep under a tree and awakens to find the prayer granted.

The foregoing passages are illustrated in six of the seven scenes, filling six of the seven spaces on fols. 22<sup>r</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>, one space in the lower right corner of fol. 22<sup>v</sup> being left unfilled. After fol. 24<sup>r</sup> there are forty-five unfilled spaces, but in the last space, where Aesop's exploits at the court of King Lycurgus are related, a later hand has inserted a crude representation of Aesop and the king. The titles of the seven scenes follow:

1) Portrait of Aesop, fol. 22<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 19)

22. Mr. Glidden's note follows: "The name 'Αἰσάπ is a transcription of the Arabic *šā'har* as it appears on p. 236, 266 ff. of De Sacy's edition of *Kalilah and Dimnah*, and shows that the ultimate source of the Morgan version was Arabic. As G. Bickell points out on p. LXXXIII of his *Kalilag und Damnah* (Leipzig, 1896), *šā'har* is no Arabic word, but a pseudograph arising from the Arabic translator's misreading of the evidently unfamiliar word *šagal* in the Pahlavi original from which he was working. This misunderstanding arose from the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script itself, for in that alphabet the letters *g*, *a*, and *l* can also be read *'*, *h* and *r*. De Sacy's notes do not make clear what manuscript he was working from at this point, and only a comparison of his original material can answer that question.

Since the scribe of the Morgan manuscript uses 'Αἰσάπ as a proper name, it is manifest that neither he nor the Greek translator whom he was probably following used an Arabic original containing the story of the Lion and Jackal

given on p. 236 ff. of De Sacy's edition. If he had been familiar with this tale he would surely have known that *šā'har* meant *jackal*, since it is so explained (*wa-huwa ibn-āwi*) on p. 236 of De Sacy but not on p. 266 ff., which is the section corresponding to the version in the Morgan manuscript."

23. Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, p. 25. Professor Perry adds in a personal letter: "This particular species of Graeco-Egyptian religious syncretism, i.e., Isis as mother (or leader) of the Muses, points rather definitely to Egypt (probably Alexandria) as the place where this version of the *βίος* was created. Cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 3; and ἡ Μουσάναγωγος = Isis leader of the Muses at Canopus (Ox. Pap. 1380.62), second century A.D. (see Liddell and Scott, s.v. *Isis*). See also Perry's *Studies*, p. 14.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 26.



- 2) Aesop rebuked by his master, fol. 22<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 20)
- 3) Punishment of the false accuser, fol. 23<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 21)
- 4) Aesop and the priestess of Isis, fol. 23<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 22)
- 5) The priestess of Isis in prayer, fol. 23<sup>v</sup> (Fig. 23)
- 6) Aesop asleep, fol. 24<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 24)
- [7) Aesop and King Lycurgus, fol. 59<sup>v</sup>, inserted later (Fig. 25)]

These miniatures follow the Morgan text rather than the commonly-known version as edited by Westermann,<sup>26</sup> in representing a priestess of Isis instead of a priest (or priests) who asks Aesop the way to the city and offers a prayer for him in gratitude; the composition with flowering trees under which Aesop sleeps after hanging up his tool seems more suited to the fine description of his noonday recess in the Morgan version than to the meager account of the episode in the Westermann recension. The Aesop scenes, however, do not follow the text quite as faithfully as do those of the Bidpai cycle; e.g., the third scene (Fig. 21) shows the flogging, under the direction of the overseer, of only one of the false accusers, though the master orders both to be punished (*ἐκδύσον αὐτούς*); and the tool which the sleeping Aesop hangs on the tree (Fig. 24) is a pickaxe, though called two-pronged (*δίκελλα*) in the text.<sup>27</sup>

The Bidpai miniatures were first drawn in black ink and afterwards painted in dark green, red, and yellow gouache, heavily neutralized but often watered to paler shades; there is also a little light blue.<sup>28</sup> The original lines of the Bidpai scenes, including the little foliate decoration on the skirt of some tunics (e.g., Fig. 5) are often obscured by the paint, but those for the Life of Aesop escaped the gouache except for some lines and accents in red.

The portrait of Aesop (Fig. 19) is untouched, except for the pupils of the eyes and some red paint on tunic and legs. In the scene with the master of Aesop (Fig. 20) several lines in both figures have been retraced or restored; the master's arms, legs, and drapery are badly confused, but a comparison with the figure of the Bidpai king (Fig. 3) suggests the form of the original. The only redrawing of the figure of the priestess with Aesop (Fig. 22) is on the right side of her face and perhaps on the hands. In spite of a little retouching in black ink and red paint, the first four Aesop miniatures retain adequate evidence for the original figure style.

The second figure of the priestess (Fig. 23), however, has been so much redrawn as to suggest at first that it was inserted by another hand; but the enigmatical lines of the drapery and meaningless red bands at the elbow reveal the work of the restorer.<sup>29</sup> It was perhaps also

26. A. Westermann, ed., *Vita Aesopi; ex vaticaniensis ac partim monacensi et vindobonensi codicibus nunc primum edidit*, Brunswick, 1845.

27. It is quite possible that these divergences from the text result from careless copying. In the archetype, the background figure (Fig. 21) may have represented the second accuser awaiting his penalty like certain martyrs in the *Menologia* (an analogy suggested by Sirarpie Der Nersessian), but here clothed and given the gesture of address (or command); and a pickaxe is easier to draw than the two-pronged hoe or fork demanded by *δίκελλα*. In this connection it may be noted that Helen Woodruff, Editor of the Princeton Index of Christian Art, has observed that in general the more nearly one approaches an archetype, the more closely do the miniatures follow the text.

28. There is no chalky color, no wine red, clear vermilion, deep blue (ultramarine), or lavender, such as is preserved in the late tenth-century Borgia fragment of the

Vatican Exultet Roll (Vat., lat. 9820), written at S. Vincenzo al Volturno (see M. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, Princeton University Press, 1936, "Descriptive Notes," p. 32, pl. cxxxv. This publication will hereafter be cited under its title only.) The parchment is reserved only for flesh tones. Red lines on foreheads; red spots on cheeks, hands and ears, in the eyes of lions (fols. 6<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>v</sup>) and birds (fol. 3<sup>r</sup>), and a tiny spot of red in the eye of the wolf cub (fol. 4<sup>r</sup>). Some pupils of eyes have been retouched and some meaningless black lines around mouths and chins (to indicate shadow?) are certainly later additions. Hair is dark green or blue, except that of the sleeping Aesop which is brown. Top and side knobs of king's crown usually red, but sometimes green or dull yellow.

29. The original garments of the priestess can probably be reconstructed from those of Virgo in the ninth-century Aratus manuscript at St. Gall (no. 902) to which the figure of the priestess bears close resemblance. The garments of the St. Gall Virgo consist of a long-sleeved, belted tunic

the restorer who was responsible for the mottled tunic of brown ink washes and cap-like hair of the sleeping Aesop (elsewhere bald). In other respects the style of the fifth and sixth scenes is not inconsistent with that of the first four.

A comparison of the figure style which thus emerges in the Aesop scenes with that of the Bidpai figures shows marked similarities in general proportions, the relatively short upper legs, large hands, small feet, low foreheads, cap-like hair protruding in a bunch at the back, and in the peculiar profiles with long noses and sharply pointed chins. The negligent manner of indicating an ear by simply breaking out the contour of the cheek is seen also in the only two Bidpai examples not covered with paint (Figs. 4, 6); finally, the gesture of the right hand of the master of Aesop, with its two middle fingers bent under (Fig. 20), is identical with that of the right hand of all six Bidpai kings facing to the right (Figs. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 18).

The costume and pose of the Bidpai king (Fig. 3) has been compared above with that of the master of Aesop. In both cycles, long garments are pulled tightly from ankle to thigh in the same manner. The seat with slender supports (reminiscent of a fald-stool) in three Bidpai scenes recurs as the seat for Aesop's master. The trees under which Aesop sleeps (Fig. 24), though retaining more naturalism than the fig-tree of the Bidpai scene (Fig. 13), show a similar type of conventionalization. From these comparisons it becomes evident that in spite of the different effect of the painted and unpainted scenes, there is in all these miniatures a consistent figure style, readily discernible in the first four Aesop scenes.

The distinguishing features of this figure style are precisely those of early medieval Latin manuscripts from South Italy, where we find the same broken-down Latin style recognizable in characteristic movement, large hands in formulated gestures, small feet, a preference for twisting the head from profile to front view and, in some manuscripts from Campania and the Abruzzi, the peculiar drawing of nose and chin in profile. Costumes are classical derivatives frequently a little misunderstood. Animals are sympathetically drawn, often suggesting human qualities, but with a liking for patterns in fur or in the feathers of birds.

To illustrate these details fully would require more space than could reasonably be expected here, especially as the evidence is cumulative, but the selection shown in Figures 26-41 will perhaps be adequate.<sup>30</sup> The Bidpai kings and the master of Aesop sit on cross-legged stools like that of the emperor in the early eleventh-century Gaeta roll (Fig. 34). The

falling to the ground, with an embroidered band running down the front; over this a mantle draped like a shawl hangs down behind, with one end draped over the left arm. There is no head covering but a small three-lobed ornament rises at the part of the hair (see Adolf Merton, *Buchmalerei in St. Gallen*, Leipzig, 1912, pl. 49). It is perhaps significant that the Alexandrian astronomers connected Isis with the sign of Virgo (Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, Paris, 1900, III, pt. 1, 579).

The corresponding figure of Virgo in the astronomical treatise of the Pseudo-Beda in the ninth-century Cassinese manuscript no. 3 (dated 874-92) is obviously based on the same archetype, but the classical reminiscences in the drapery are stronger and there is no band down the front of the tunic (cf. *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. cxcv).

The normal costume for attendants of Isis was similar to that of Isis herself; i.e., a long-sleeved, white robe reaching to the ground, a shawl knotted over the breast and a veil falling loosely from the head (cf. G. Lafaye, "Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie . . .," Paris, 1884, *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 33). However, the illustrations shown by Lafaye in his article on Isis in Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionary show many variants, among them a woman initiate wearing a kind of stole, passing under her right arm and hanging from the

left shoulder (III, pt. 1, 585, fig. 4105). Something similar, in alternate sections of red and black, appears on a terracotta statuette in the Fouquet collection, identified as Isis-Aphrodite by Paul Perdrizet in his *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet* (Nancy, Paris, Strassburg, 1921, I, 3, pl. 11). The vertical band of the Morgan priestess, perhaps originally a stole, has been heavily retouched in black and red. The fine red line within the small curve in the outline above the forehead appears to be nothing more than retouching in red, but it is sometimes held that red on the forehead is characteristic of Isis figures. This theory is not substantiated by Eva Wunderlich in her exhaustive study of red in Greek and Roman cults ("Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe in Kultus der Griechen und Römer," *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, Giessen, XX, pt. 1, 1925). In her long list of ideas and cults which employ red symbolically, some (e.g., the cult of the Sun) suggest its appropriateness for Isiac costume; but she also shows that red is well established as a symbol of evil, and quotes the following prayer to Isis: "O Isis, redeem me and deliver me from all base and evil red things." For this and other references I am indebted to Dr. Arthur D. Nock of Harvard.

30. Since so much comparative material is available in other publications for anyone who may question the South Italian provenance of the Morgan miniatures, I have pre-



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33

Figs. 26–28—Montecassino, MS 132, Rabanus Maurus, Eleventh Century. Figs. 29–30—Pisa, Museo Civico, Exultet Roll, Eleventh Century. Fig. 31—Montecassino, MS 3, Pseudo-Beda, fol. 178r, Ninth Century. Fig. 32—Rome, Vatican, MS lat. 9820, Exultet Roll, Tenth Century. Fig. 33—Montecassino, MS 759, Octateuch, Eleventh Century





Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41

Fig. 34—Gaeta, Cathedral Archives, Exultet Roll, The Emperor, Eleventh Century. Figs. 35–36—Rome, Casanatense, MS 724 B 1 13, Benedictio Fontis, Tenth Century. Fig. 37—Cava, Badia Archives, MS 4, Leges Langobardorum, Eleventh Century. Fig. 38—Montecassino, MS 3, Pseudo-Beda, fol. 183<sup>r</sup>, Ninth Century. Fig. 39—Cava, Badia Archives, MS 2, Letter O, Eighth Century. Figs. 40–41—Rome, Vatican, MS gr. 2138, Decorative Letters, Tenth Century

movement of the fingers of the six Bidpai kings, referred to above, is characteristic of a manuscript written at Benevento early in the eleventh-century and now MS 4 in the archives of the Badia at Cava dei Tirrheni (Fig. 37).<sup>31</sup> Tunics like those in the Morgan miniatures appear in a late tenth-century manuscript originating at S. Vincenzo al Volturno (Fig. 36), and the same manuscript presents an unfinished background form (Fig. 35) recalling similarly abbreviated figures in the Morgan manuscript (Figs. 6, 21). Animals with form and movement like those of the Morgan miniatures are characteristic of the illustrations in the manuscript of Rabanus Maurus (Montecassino MS 132) written at Montecassino before 1023 (Figs. 26-28).

The fig-tree reminiscent of the Sasanian sacred tree, however, suggests by its strictly conventionalized form influence from South Italian Greek manuscripts of the tenth century written at Capua (cf. Fig. 41), rather than the more naturalistic tree and plant forms of manuscripts in Beneventan script.<sup>32</sup> The extreme crudity of the patterns of the fig-tree is probably due in part at least to restoration, but the more naturalistic effect of plant forms in Beneventan miniatures, even when conventionalized, may be seen by comparing Figure 24 with Figure 31 or Figure 32.

Although the Morgan miniatures are earlier, their closest parallels are seen in the eleventh-century Exultet Roll now at Pisa but certainly written in South Italy (Figs. 29-30). The exact provenance of this manuscript is most unfortunately unknown, but connections with Campanian products can be detected, while the peculiar profile with sharply pointed chin persists in Abruzzese painting even as late as the thirteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

Comparison of the Morgan miniatures with a chronologic series such as is provided by the Exultet Rolls (dating from the tenth to the thirteenth century) points to a date for the Morgan miniatures in the late tenth or early eleventh century and to a provincial scriptorium. They show no close connections with Bari, but are loosely allied to early examples from Montecassino and S. Vincenzo al Volturno, with possibly some influence from Capua, where the monks of both monasteries were located in the late tenth and early eleventh century, having been driven from their homes by the Saracens early in the eighth decade of the ninth century.

It must however be recognized that in spite of similarities in style between the Bidpai and Aesop scenes, certain characteristics of the Bidpai figures, such as the swollen cheeks and large eyes with drooping lower lids, suggest an archetype of different style from that which underlies the more Hellenistic treatment of the Aesop miniatures.

Mrs. Husselman in her monograph is inclined to believe that the Bidpai miniatures originated in an Arabic prototype,<sup>34</sup> and this conjecture can certainly be entertained, but I find nothing in existing Bidpai cycles to remove it from the realm of conjecture. The extreme scarcity, amounting practically to non-existence, of any examples of Arabic miniatures before the thirteenth century leaves still unsolved the question of the style and general character of early Moslem illumination. Arabic scholars generally agree, however, that these early schools drew their inspiration from East Christian and Sasanian sources, with

ferred to use the greater part of the plates at my disposal for the reproduction of all the miniatures of Morgan MS 397, in the hope that they may be utilized by scholars in the various fields upon which they touch.

31. Other miniatures in Cava MS 4 show examples of the cross-legged chair, and peculiarities in the drawing of hands similar to those of the Morgan figures (cf. *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. ccv).

32. Cf. the miniatures of the tenth-century Dioscorides

now in Munich (E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, Oxford, 1929, I, pl. XLII), and of the early eleventh-century Octateuch at Montecassino (Fig. 33). Trees similar to those of Paris MS ar. 3465 appear in the thirteenth-century Arabic manuscript of Galen in Vienna (A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, *A Survey of Persian Art*, London and New York, 1938, v, pl. 812a).

33. Cf. *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. ccvi.

34. See her monograph, p. 5, note 5, and p. 20.

little or no influence from the Far East before the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century. The earliest known Bidpai cycle in an Arabic text (Paris, Bib. nat., MS ar. 3465), generally dated about 1220 and allied by style with the Paris Hariri (Bib. nat., MS ar. 6094), shows this mingling of Early Christian and Persian characteristics.

So also do the Morgan miniatures, and it might be tempting to see in this indications of an Arabic prototype, were it not for the well-known mingling of Early Christian and Sasanian influences in western illumination. The Early Christian style soon assimilated Sasanian characteristics, but in Arabic illumination the unfamiliar eastern customs and costume so color the effect that the Hellenistic qualities are almost submerged.

There are without doubt many elements in the miniatures of Paris MS ar. 3465 which are reminiscent of the Morgan scenes, such as the Sasanian preference for placing two figures at either side of a tree, one scene from an earlier fable (fol. 48<sup>r</sup>) showing two confronted jackals with noses at the tree, suggestive of the Morgan composition of the wolves eating figs; trees with leafy branches ending in large flowers or buds; the general appearance of animals and birds.

But the Morgan miniatures use the sacred tree motive only once (Fig. 13), and that for a composition in which the tree was not an ornamental motive but an essential element in the illustration,<sup>35</sup> while throughout Paris MS ar. 3465 it is commonly used for any scene with more than one animal. The fald-stool appears several times in Paris MS ar. 3465, but in a much more elaborate form, with four clearly-defined legs. The leafy trees of Paris MS ar. 3465 show none of the conventionalization of the Morgan trees, resembling rather those of Beneventan manuscripts. The lack of head coverings, which are demanded for persons of all stations in Arabic illumination, is also to be noted in the Morgan scenes. As for the animals, their human qualities are demanded in Bidpai illumination by the text, and even without such a motivation the animal world is generally sympathetically rendered in South Italian miniatures, except in conventionalized ornament.

There is no cycle in Paris MS ar. 3465 corresponding to that of the Morgan manuscript, the miniature for the fable of the king's son (fol. 141<sup>r</sup>) simply showing four men in a row in long garments; those for the other fables necessarily have a different content, since they follow the usual Arabic form of the story as explained above. Some of the later manuscripts have more miniatures from the fable of the king's son; e.g., Paris MS ar. 3475 (eighteenth century) shows the handsome man and his lady, the merchant's son bargaining, a parade of the king's son on an elephant, and two scenes of the courtier and the birds, similar in content to the two in the Morgan cycle but quite unlike them in composition.<sup>36</sup> In short, none of these miniatures suggest an Arabic prototype for the Morgan cycle.

Furthermore, Mrs. Husselman has suggested the following explanations for the distortions of the text of the Bidpai fables:<sup>37</sup>

35. It is true that the Sasanian motive of the sacred tree was never as well established in Italian art as the similar Roman axial composition of birds or animals at either side of a vase filled with fruits, or with a flowering plant issuing from its mouth. As Christian art developed, the cross or monogram was often substituted for the vase, but the decorative value of the Roman motive was not forgotten, as the well-known eleventh-century transennae at Torcello bear witness (cf. P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, III, 789). Another eleventh-century panel from San Marco, Venice, shows a combination of the sacred tree motive with the vase (*ibid.*, 435).

36. Lack of knowledge on my part of the Arabic and Persian languages prevents me from attempting a discussion of the Bidpai cycles, tempting as a study of them has proved to be. The literature of the subject, which has been greatly increased in recent years, has been listed by Kurt Holter (*Die islamische Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350*, Leipzig, 1937); a considerable supplement to this list by H. Buchthal, Otto Kurz, and R. Ettinghausen is soon to appear in *Ars Islamica*. For this reference I am indebted to Dr. Ettinghausen.

37. See her monograph, pp. 21-22.



1) The text . . . is a Greek adaptation, rather than a translation, of certain stories in the Arabic version of the *Kalilah and Dimnah*.

2) The Arabic manuscript was of the most common type . . . but it was defective when it came into the hands of the Greek adapter.

3) The Greek adapter misunderstood some portions of the text . . . and was obliged to supply some details from his own imagination. He thus provided us with an apparently unique text of the *Kalilah and Dimnah*.

It will be seen that while none of these explanations exclude the possibility that the original Arabic text was illustrated, they all require the conclusion that several of the Morgan miniatures must have been composed for the Greek translation or adaptation. An archetype, therefore, based on any one of these explanations, would necessarily have been made up partly of Arabic and partly of western miniatures; but in view of the consistency in style and treatment of the scenes in the Bidpai cycle, it would be difficult to accept such an archetype. I therefore have found it impossible to establish the probability of an Arabic archetype for the Bidpai scenes.

The Aesop miniatures were certainly based on late classical formulas, of which the *orans* pose of the priestess of Isis (Fig. 23) is a familiar example.<sup>38</sup> The resemblance noted above between this figure and the Virgo of the ninth-century manuscripts at St. Gall and Montecassino (both obviously late classical in derivation),<sup>39</sup> while implying a connection between them as yet unexplained, gives some ground for the possibility of an archetype influenced by a Hellenistic illustrated manuscript of Aratus (fl. third century B.C.). That the Aesop miniatures were copied from an earlier cycle seems implicit in the unfilled spaces, and these indicate further that the Morgan scribe copied the exact pagination of his model, a conclusion corroborated by Professor Perry, reasoning from the treatment of a certain lacuna in the text.<sup>40</sup> Whether the miniatures originated with the model or the model itself was a copy of earlier miniatures remains conjectural.<sup>41</sup>

38. The *orans* attitude, though best known in Early Christian usage, was an ancient pagan pose, whose place of origin and primitive significance is not clear. It must have been familiar to the common people of Greece as it occurs on small gravestones found in Attica, Asia Minor, and the islands, examples of which will be illustrated in a forthcoming book on the art of the people in Hellenistic and Early Roman times by Karl Lehmann-Hartleben of New York University. As a pagan prayer motive it appears on a gem with the words *PROVIDENTIA DEORUM COSII*, showing a female figure raising her arms toward the sun (cf. A. Conze, "Der betende Knabe," *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, I, 1886, p. 12). An Etruscan example on a gold fibula in Providence has recently been published by George M. A. Hanfmann of Harvard ("The Etruscans and their Art," *Bulletin of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design*, xxviii, 1940, p. 11). A study of the subject is promised by Mary B. Swindler of Bryn Mawr, who showed some of the more recently discovered examples at the annual meeting of the American Archaeological Institute in Baltimore, December, 1940. (For a résumé of her paper see *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLV, 1941, 87.)

39. See pp. 109-110, note 29.

40. Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, p. 8.

41. Conditions in Europe have prevented the search for illuminated Aesop manuscripts which I had hoped to make, but Professor Perry writes me as follows, "A fourteenth-century Life of Aesop in Moscow has a small miniature of Aesop (Cod. Mosquensis 436, fol. 439), showing him in a

monkish robe of relatively modern appearance, with one hand in the palm of the other as if making a calculation; on his head is a tall turban with conspicuous and irregular spiral folds tapering off to a point at the top. No resemblance to Morgan ms 397. The codex came from Mt. Athos but there is some reason to believe that it may have been brought thither from Iberia (Georgia) or that part of the world. Apart from the Morgan manuscript this is the only Greek manuscript of the Life which has a picture of Aesop. I have seen all the manuscripts of the Life except seven or eight of its latest form and I have never heard of any other illustration in the Life or Fables of Aesop in Greek." Photographs of an eighteenth-century Georgian manuscript of the Life and Fables said to have been translated from the Greek, which have recently come into the possession of Professor Perry, show at the end of the Life a crude drawing of a man with distorted limbs apparently caught in a net, presumably a portrait of Aesop. The eleventh-century Latin manuscript of Aesop at Leyden has a conventional portrait at the beginning of a confused mass of illustrations of the Fables, showing the author seated in his house with none of the distortions ascribed to him in the texts (cf. Georg Thiele, *Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Adamar: Cod. Vossianus lat. oct. 15, fol. 195-205, Leyden, 1905*).

Nothing in existing Greek painting suggests that there was a cycle for the Life, nor even that Aesop was a popular subject in early Greek art. The cup in the Museo Gregoriana at Rome (E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, 182, fig. 495), showing Aesop (caricatured

The figure style of the Bidpai cycle is farther removed from Hellenistic models than that of the Aesop scenes, and more consistently South Italian in its awkward but vivacious movement and expression, and in its over-large heads, hands, and eyes with their drooping lower lids.<sup>42</sup> This difference in style can be understood if the archetype was composed for the Greek translation by a Latin miniaturist<sup>43</sup> in a monastery located in the Campanian or Abruzzese region, such as Montecassino or S. Vincenzo al Volturno, or at Capua at the end of the ninth or early tenth century when the monks of both these monasteries were there. It can be supposed that an illustrated life of Aesop was available whose miniatures not only were incorporated into the text but provided a model for the style and composition of the Bidpai cycle. The Morgan miniatures would then be a copy produced by a Latin hand perhaps a hundred years later, in which the two styles were so blended as to provide a series of miniatures similar stylistically but preserving certain characteristics of the figure style of their prototypes.<sup>44</sup>

In conclusion, the Morgan miniatures appear to have been copied in the late tenth or early eleventh century, in a South Italian scriptorium, from a Greek folklore book containing illustrations for a fragment of the Bidpai tales and a Life of Aesop, for which each cycle may have had a still earlier prototype. The archetype for the Bidpai miniatures may conceivably have been Arabic, but the archetype for the Aesop scenes was late classical. Although the text is written in Greek,<sup>45</sup> the miniatures were copied by a Latin hand in the characteristic broken-down classical style of the Campania-Abruzzi region of South Italy. The work of the Latin miniaturist was interrupted after fol. 24<sup>r</sup> and never resumed.

The location of the scriptorium remains unknown; the presence of the manuscript in Grottaferrata in the eighteenth century is not conclusive as to its provenance, since the library at Grottaferrata had been previously dispersed.<sup>46</sup> But that it was located somewhere

with an enormous head) and the fox, seems to be the one example recognized by writers on classical painting. (On Aesop in art, see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Stuttgart, 1909, VI, cols. 1714-16.) The Elder Philostratus, however, writing early in the third century A.D., lists, in his *Εἰκόνες*, Aesop and a procession of his fables, along with scenes of playful child life. Dr. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, in an interesting and important article defending the validity of the descriptions of Philostratus (*ART BULLETIN*, XXIII, 1941, 16-44), throws a little doubt on this subject as being so loosely connected with the adjacent scenes as to permit one to "wonder whether it could have been inserted by Philostratus" (*op. cit.*, p. 38). This seems an unnecessarily generous gesture on the part of Dr. Lehmann-Hartleben, since Aesop's fables appear to me to be quite felicitously connected with subjects of child play; but even if it is an insertion, it implies that Aesopica as a subject for painting was fairly familiar in the early third century A.D., i.e., shortly after the time when Professor Perry dates the archetype of the Morgan text.

42. Cf. the miniatures in the Rule of St. Benedict (Montecassino MS 175) written at Capua by the Cassinese monks, 915-34 (*The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. cxvii); also, the tenth-century Exultet Roll now at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, England (*The Exultet Rolls . . .*, pl. lii-iv). A very early example of eyes with drooping lid, conventionalized for decoration, occurs in a letter O in a Cava manuscript (no. 2), written at Montecassino an. 779-97 (Fig. 39). Although this treatment of the eye is current elsewhere in pre-Carolingian illumination, it is peculiarly persistent in manuscripts in Beneventan script. It was conventionalized in the tenth century for the illumination of Greek manuscripts written at Capua (Fig. 40), and it appears in a portrait head inclosed in the letter O,

in one of the manuscripts written by St. Nilus still preserved at Grottaferrata (K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, pl. xciii, 604).

43. The manuscript has no decorative initials nor strips of ornament in the Greek manner (cf. Figs. 40, 41), but the effect of a frontispiece given to fol. 1<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 1) perhaps indicates influence from Greek illumination.

44. I.e., the early tenth-century style of the Capuan region, for the prototype of the Bidpai cycle and a more Hellenistic style for the archetype of the Aesop scenes. The last scene (Fig. 25) by a later hand almost as unskilled as the one which worked over the twelfth-century addition to the Exultet Roll at Mirabella-Eclano (cf. *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, pl. lx) is perhaps an original composition based on the Bidpai scenes, since the king sits on a seat whose back shows only one upright, like that of the Bidpai king (Fig. 4); the contour of the right side of the king's head and neck is similar to that of the Bidpai king (Fig. 8); and the tripartite crown and sceptre are later types of those of the Bidpai cycle. There is, however, nothing about the miniature which is inconsistent with later retouching by unskilled scribes such as often mars South Italian illumination.

45. The possibility that the Greek text might have been written by a Latin monk who knew Greek has been suggested, but Mrs. Kirsopp Lake points out that the Latinisms which occur are not those characteristic of Latin scribes when writing Greek.

46. Cf. A. Rocchi, *De coenobio cryptoferratensi eiusque biblioteca et codicibus praesertim graecis commentarii*, Tusculum, 1893, 269, 274-75, 280-84. The Morgan manuscript was seen at Grottaferrata in 1789 by P. Ramolino (Otto Crusius, *Babrii fabulae Aesopeae*, editio major, Leipzig, 1897, p. ix), but the lack of early catalogues makes it im-

near the valley of the Volturno, where Campanian and Abruzzese influences mingled, seems assured in view of the implications of the miniature style. Such a location would be provided at Valleluce, the monastery in the mountains between Montecassino and S. Vincenzo al Volturno, which was granted to the Calabrian St. Nilus by the abbot of Montecassino, and to which St. Nilus brought his monks in the second half of the tenth century, establishing them there for fifteen years.<sup>47</sup> Later St. Nilus spent some time at Capua and Gaeta before founding the monastery at Grottaferrata in 1004.

Dr. Kirsopp Lake has always insisted that the script had Calabrian characteristics. This would lend plausibility to a conjecture that this copy of a mutilated Greek folklore book was planned in one of the Campanian scriptoria of St. Nilus during the visit of a Latin miniaturist, who began to copy the miniatures but was called away before finishing his work; the text was then copied by resident Calabrian monks who left the spaces for illumination as they appeared in the archetype, hoping for a return of the artist-scribe. It is obvious that the known presence of the manuscript at Grottaferrata in the eighteenth century adds some weight to such a conjecture, since the codex might well have been brought there by St. Nilus or his monks and remained forgotten in some cupboard during the dispersion of the library.

Whatever may be their history, the Morgan miniatures present themselves as additions to our scanty list of early South Italian miniatures, and the comparatively untouched condition of most of the Aesop scenes gives them some stylistic importance. They also offer some evidence for coöperation between Greek and Italian scribes and miniaturists and for their common interests and activities in South Italy in the early Middle Ages. In addition, they are themselves at present unique early illustrations of the Bidpai fables and the *Vita Aesopi*. Like editors of the texts, students of medieval illumination must hope for the discovery of other examples, Greek or Arabic, to throw further light upon this important collection of folk tales in early versions.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

## APPENDIX

In examining the Morgan Bidpai cycle with Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, we became interested in noting elements which might be considered Persian, and he has listed those he recognized. He understands quite well that these elements appear also in western miniatures—some of them a common inheritance from early archaic vase painting—but as his list brings into comparison several interesting examples, I give it below, at the same time pointing out that many of these so-called Sasanian features are shown in the few South Italian examples reproduced in Figs. 26-41.

NOTE BY RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN: "The minia-

tures in the Pierpont Morgan Library ms 397 reveal only a few features which could be traced back to Iranian art. As Byzantine art contains throughout a certain amount of Iranian elements, we do not necessarily have to assume that there was a Persian prototype for ms 397 which was directly copied or which formed the direct source of inspiration.

A. The miniature on fol. 5<sup>v</sup>, (Fig. 13), "The Wolves Eat Figs," shows the following Iranian features:

1) The typically Persian heraldic composition with two animals on either side of a tree, appearing in textiles, seals, and stuccoes, and becoming widespread through the diffusion of Persian silks.

possible to know when it entered the library. Cf. N. B. Ieromonaco, "La biblioteca della badia greca di Grottaferrata," *Accademie e biblioteche*, vi, 2, 1930. The considerable collection of manuscripts from Grottaferrata now at the Vatican was examined in the hope that some of their illumination might throw light on the Morgan miniatures, but the search produced no results.

47. Batiffol, in his *L'abbaye de Rossano* (Paris, 1891, Pref. p. xxi) places the monastery of S. Angelo at Valleluce "near Gaeta" and this location is given to it in the Catholic

Encyclopedia (*s.v.* "Nilus"); but the records and traditions at Montecassino leave no doubt that the site of the monastery given to St. Nilus was the little valley, where the name still lingers, about four kilometers from S. Elia on the river Rapido (cf. A. Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino*, Montecassino, 1869, I, 156). A visit to the region in search of some fragment of fresco or miniature which might support the possibility that the Morgan codex was produced there proved fruitless, nothing earlier than the thirteenth century being anywhere visible.



2) The raising of an animal's foreleg on the side away from the spectator (found also on fols. 4<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>). For parallels in Sasanian and medieval Islamic art objects, see J. Orbeli, "Sasanian and Early Islamic Metalwork," in *Survey of Persian Art*, New York and London, 1938, IV, pl. 135; A. U. Pope, "Ceramic Art in Islamic Times: A. The History," in *Survey of Persian Art*, 1938, V, pl. 575a, 583b, 596a, 616; Ralph Hariri, "Metalwork after the Early Islamic Period," in *Survey of Persian Art*, 1939, VI, pl. 1288a, 1292a.

3) The inorganic application of flat cardboard-like front legs or wings to the animals' bodies somewhat in the manner of the application of limbs to a jumping-jack (seen also on fols. 2<sup>v</sup>, 3<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>v</sup>, 6<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>v</sup>). This tendency is foreshadowed in certain Sasanian works (see J. Orbeli-C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie sasanide* [in Russian and French], Leningrad, 1935, pl. 4). It is quite apparent in Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 29 (central bird), 31, 72; I. I. Smirnov, *Argentierie orientale*, St. Petersburg, 1909, pl. LXX; P. Ackerman, "Textiles of the Islamic Period," in *Survey of Persian Art*, 1939, VI, pl. 981 (elephants, camels).

4) A well-padded animal foot, somewhat too large and long (also on fols. 4<sup>r</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>r</sup>), foreshadowed in such works as Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 22, 30. See also Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pl. LVII; *Survey of Persian Art*, V, pl. 614a, 615a, 615b; E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927, fig. 38; P. Horn, "Sasanidische Gemmen aus dem British Museum," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XLIV, 1890, pl. 1b, fourth row, no. 727a; pl. 2a, third row, no. 563.

5) Double line on lower part of animal's body to indicate its rotundity. See Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pls. 23, 24, 26, for possible earlier forms of this convention.

6) The telescopic arrangement which fits subsequent parts of a tree trunk into each other as observed in certain grass species (*schachtelhalmartig*). See Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pl. LI; E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Berlin, 1920, pl. XXXVIII. This is the common way of tree construction in late Sasanian art.

7) The lowest unit of the tree trunk with its two excrescences has its counterpart in *A Survey of Persian Art*, IV, pl. 177e; and in Horn, *op. cit.*, pl. 1b, second row, no. 624. The same seal is also illustrated in E. Thomas, "Notes Introductory to Sassanian Mint Monograms and Gems," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XIII, 1852, pl. III, 39. This particular seal in the British Museum shows also a vertical succession of small rectangular fields on the tree trunk which are similar to the vertical succession of small horizontal rectangles in Morgan MS 397, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>.

8) The floral forms superimposed on tree trunk. This feature might be a misunderstanding of a Sasanian iconographic feature which puts a tree on top of a scale-like hill symbol on which a floral form is drawn. It is possible that the tree in Morgan MS 397, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>, is a unification of a hill symbol showing a superimposed plant with a tree. For the Sasanian prototype, see Smirnov, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII (here the two animals seem to eat from the tree as in Morgan MS 397, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>); *Survey of Persian Art*, IV, pl. 177e. In some other instances a tree rises from a triangular-shaped root symbol covered on the sides by leaf forms. See E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pl. XXXVIII, LIV.

9) Pointed cone-shaped leaves at the end of a branch. See Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 27, 33, 52; *Survey of Persian Art*, IV, pl. 229b.

10) There are no real parallels for the arrangement of the branches with leaves (or fruits) in the manner of spikes emanating from one central point. The closest parallel I found was Horn, *op. cit.*, XLIV, pl. 1b, second row, no. 624; also H. H. von der Osten, "The Ancient Seals from the Near East in the Metropolitan Museum," *ART BULLETIN*, XIII, 1931, Seal no. 100. This particular seal in the Metropolitan Museum has three flowers emanating from one point. They are accompanied by little stems which have leaves in cross-bar shape, somewhat similar to the miniature on fol. 5<sup>v</sup>.

B. Other Iranian features are perhaps:

1) The sceptre of a floral nature in the hand of the king in the miniature on fol. 3<sup>v</sup>, which has many counterparts in old Persian and Islamic art. See O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, London, 1905, p. 92, no. 38 (where further references are given), pl. XII; von der Osten, *op. cit.*, fig. 123; A. Pavlovskij, "Décoration des plafonds de la Chapelle Palatine," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II, 1893, 380, 412.

2) Raising of the hands of the three companions on fols. 1<sup>v</sup> and 3<sup>v</sup>. This gesture might express only the conversation going on between the king and his companions, as in the miniatures on fols. 2<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>r</sup>. In fols. 1<sup>v</sup> and 3<sup>v</sup> it is noticeable that the hands of the companions are raised much higher than that of the king. It may therefore be possible that it is a last remnant of the raising of the hand in supplication to a Persian king, as shown in two Sasanian rock carvings (see E. Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre de la Perse sassanide," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, V, 1928, pl. XLI, fig. 14; XLII, fig. 15; and in one wall painting from Qusayr 'Amra (K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1932, I, 268-69, pl. 48).

3) The mustachioed lion. See Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pls. 26, 30. At least, anthropomorphic qualities are indicated in Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 33."

Dr. Ettinghausen also noticed the following Persian features, but did not consider them sufficiently characteristic to include them in the foregoing list:

1) A figure with head seen in profile looking and pointing upward, and seated near to, or being part of, a decorative scheme, as on the Morgan miniature of fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Cf. T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, London, 1929, pl. 3a.

2) The ending of the animal tail in a floral form as in fols. 4<sup>r</sup>, 5<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 22; *Survey of Persian Art*, IV, pl. 135.

3) Circular neck opening of coat like the one worn by the two courtiers, fols. 1<sup>v</sup>, 2<sup>r</sup>, 2<sup>v</sup>, 3<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>. Cf. Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 13, 16, 19.

4) The tripartite crown. Cf. Orbeli-Trever, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, 2, 5, 6.

It is interesting to observe that the only feature listed by Dr. Ettinghausen that was not part of common practice in South Italian painting in the eleventh century is the sacred tree motive of the fig-tree scene. If there was an Arabic archetype for the Morgan cycle, this scene must surely have been one of its miniatures.



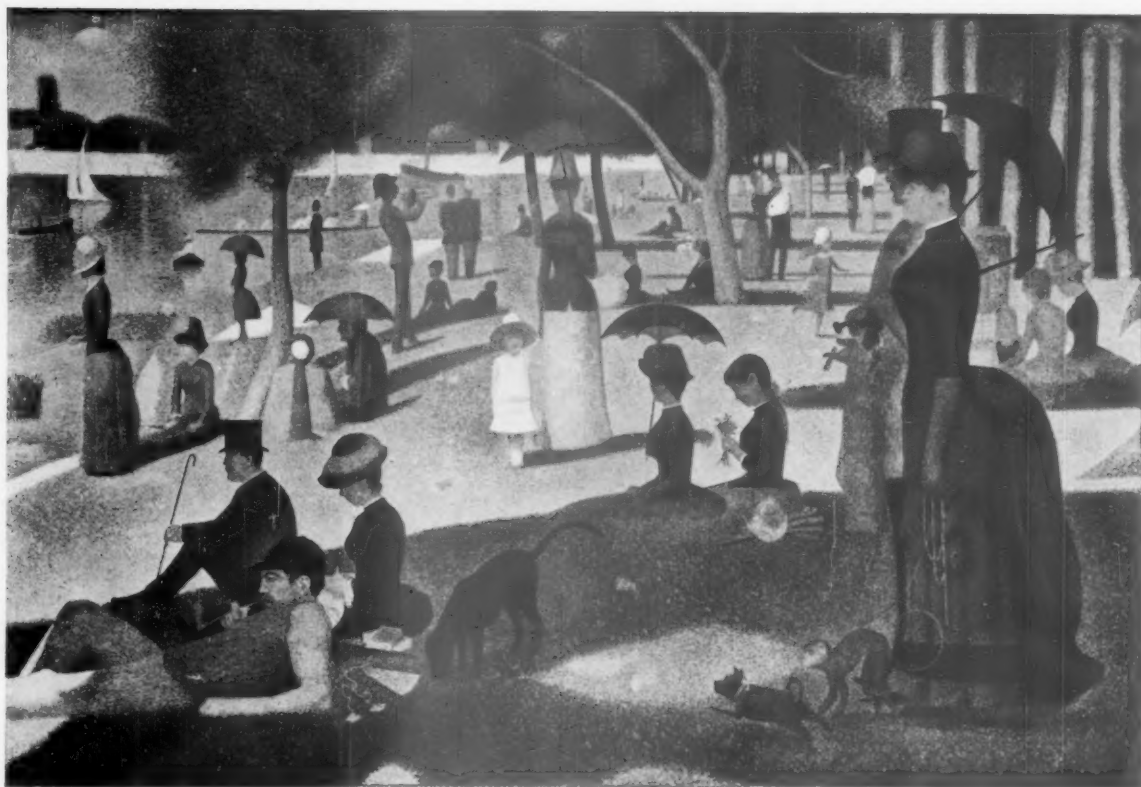


Fig. 1—Chicago, Art Institute: Seurat, *La Grande-Jatte*, 1886

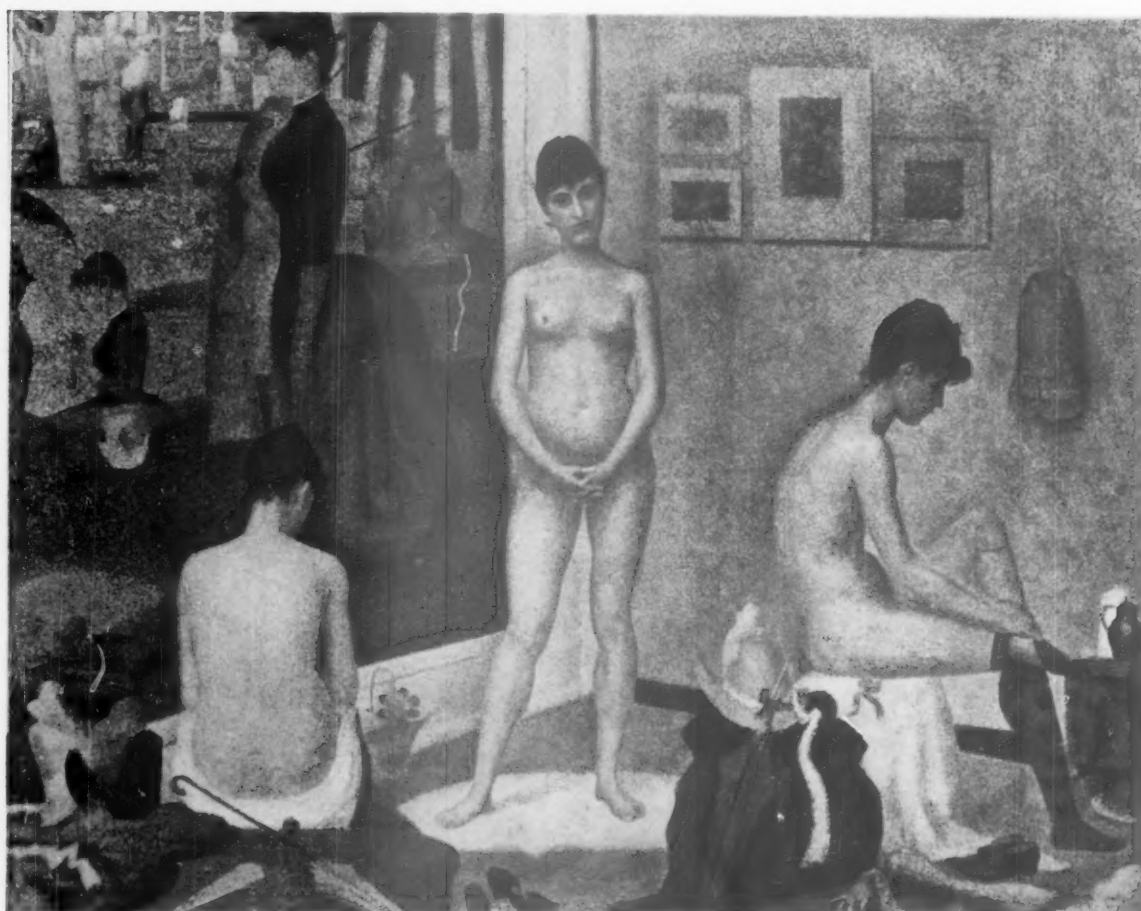


Fig. 2—Merion, Barnes Foundation: Seurat, *Les Poseuses*, 1887



# SOME ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SEURAT'S STYLE

By ROBERT J. GOLDWATER

## I

THE painting of Georges Seurat has suffered many critical vicissitudes. Since that day when Puvis passed the *Cirque* by, to its author's great disappointment, Seurat's art has been much analyzed. Originally viewed as a sort of belated and more orderly impressionist, Seurat was somewhat later valued for qualities of spatial organization and of composition that appeared to be very far from the earlier impressionist standard by which his painting had been judged. From the very start his name has been identified with the *Grande-Jatte* (Fig. 1), and with rare exceptions this canvas, undoubtedly his greatest, has been taken as a kind of criterion of what Seurat's art was striving for, and his other paintings judged in its light. This point of view does just honor to the *Grande-Jatte*, but it ignores two essential facts: first that the *Grande-Jatte* is, within the decade of Seurat's activity, an "early" canvas which, to conclude from his later evolution, did not necessarily represent the highest level of achievement; and secondly that Seurat's painting is not an isolated point suspended between an earlier impressionism and a later highly appreciative cubism, but is contemporary with, associated with, and undoubtedly influenced by a general movement in the painting of his own time. Seurat's art is far from being static, as his *méthode*, his deliberate system of painting, and even the tone of his first pictures might lead one to suppose.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, it changes rapidly and profoundly. Nor must we forget that Seurat is the youngest of the four great "post-impressionist" figures. Born in 1859, he is twenty years younger than Cézanne, with whom he is so often compared in his transformation of impressionism, eleven years younger than Gauguin, and six years younger than van Gogh. It would thus not be surprising if his style should also bear affinities to those more nearly his contemporaries, and to the most advanced currents of his time. Others (and especially Rey, Barr, Rich, Schapiro, and Novotny),<sup>2</sup> have touched upon these problems and made valuable suggestions concerning them; we wish to carry the discussion further. It is then the progression of Seurat's art, especially from the completion of the *Grande-Jatte* in 1886 until his death five years later, and its relation to that of his contemporaries, that we propose to study here.

The *Poseuses* (Merion, Barnes Foundation) (Fig. 2) was the first large picture to follow the *Grande-Jatte*. Exhibited as no. 113 in the Indépendants of 1888, it had occupied Seurat in that and the preceding year.<sup>3</sup> An examination of the drawings and *croquetons* made for it

1. Seurat's first drawing (portrait of Aman-Jean) was exhibited at the Salon in 1883. His first more or less independent pictures were presumably done in 1880-81, though none of them bear dates. The dating of Seurat's early works stems originally from the inventory of his atelier taken at his death, and the catalogue of the 1900 exhibition of *La Revue Blanche*. See Lucie Cousturier, *Seurat*, 2nd ed., Paris, Crès, 1926, for reproductions (not very good) and generally accepted dates for most of the paintings.

2. Robert Rey, *La renaissance du sentiment classique*, Paris, Beaux-Arts, 1931, pp. 95-134; Alfred Barr, ed., *The*

*Museum of Modern Art, Catalogue of the First Loan Exhibition*, New York, 1929, pp. 23-27; Meyer Schapiro, "Seurat and La Grande-Jatte," *Columbia Review*, xvii, 1935, pp. 9-16; Fritz Novotny, *Cézanne und das Ende der wissenschaftlichen Perspektive*, Vienna, Schroll, 1938, pp. 145-152; Roger Fry, *Transformations*, New York, Brentano, 1926, pp. 188-196.—It will be noted by the reader that Daniel Catton Rich's exhaustive analysis of the *Grande-Jatte* has been assumed as one of the bases of the discussion of my article (*Seurat and the Evolution of the Grande-Jatte*, Chicago, University Press, 1935).

3. Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 123. The *Grande-Jatte*, worked on

will therefore give us some indication of the direction in which Seurat's art was moving.<sup>4</sup> One of the first studies is the conté-crayon of a *Poseuse de Face* (Kahn no. 99) shown standing in the studio with her back to a wall which runs nearly parallel to the picture plane (Fig. 3). Her position is the same as that of the central figure in the Barnes canvas except that she has a perfectly symmetrical rigidity, with legs close together and head straight, and that her palms are turned down rather than up. The squatter proportions of the figure, the broader face, the hair flat on the head, are taken directly from the posing model. A color sketch formerly in the collection of Félix Fénéon is somewhat closer to the final version: here the hands have been turned, the proportions elongated, the right leg extended; the white towel has been put beneath the feet and the wall turned at a slight angle. But the corner of the room has not yet been indicated, and the passe-partout sketches on the wall remain directly behind the head of the model. Now it is interesting that what follows these two studies is an outline drawing in which contours are indicated by a solid, continuous line and areas by strokes of varying density which follow these contours (Kahn no. 98) (Fig. 4). Moreover, this outline drawing was preceded by at least one other conté-crayon, and two other *croquetons*. One of the *croquetons*, done in very broad strokes and surrounded by a painted contrasting frame, is a study for the woman on the right (Fig. 6).<sup>5</sup> She is shown with stockings and shoes missing, with the bag hanging on the wall omitted, and the stool placed considerably lower than in the definitive composition, so that the right leg is further extended. The back of the stool is not covered with towel and dress as it is later, and its legs are thus still visible. Here, as in the other preliminary study, the line of the baseboard runs more nearly parallel to the picture plane than in the finished version. The other *croqueton* is a similar study of the figure to the left, also shown without any of the surrounding still-life. The conté-crayon (Kahn no. 97) is a realistic still-life study comparable to that of the central figure (Fig. 5). Towel, dress, hat, and umbrella are all shown as they

from 1884-86, was first shown at the Eighth Impressionist Exhibition, rue Laffitte, May 15-June 15, 1886.

I wish to thank Mr. Stephen C. Clark and the Barnes Foundation for their permission to reproduce their pictures; the Museum of Modern Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, Knoedler and Co., and Jacques Seligmann and Co., for illustrations used here; and the Frick Art Reference Library and the Metropolitan Museum for help in obtaining others.

4. The drawings have largely been studied from the facsimiles in Gustave Kahn, *Les dessins de Georges Seurat*, 2 vols., Paris, Bernheim-Jeune, n.d. Of the 149 items only seven are dated, and of these four are before 1878.—*Croqueton* is Seurat's word for his color studies in oil.

5. The purpose of the contrasting frame is, as Roger Fry has pointed out (*Transformations*, p. 195), to isolate the picture and enhance its color. Seurat, in the letter on his theory which we will have occasion to quote below, says: "Le cadre est dans l'harmonie opposée à celle des tons, des teintes, et des lignes du tableau." A word as to the origin of this frame: it appears first in 1885 as a band on the painting itself (the *Bec du Hoc*, Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 10; *Marée Basse à Grandcamp*, *ibid.*, pl. 15; *Port-en-Bessin*, Museum of Modern Art, *Catalogue, First Loan Exhibition*, 1929, pl. 57, where it is shown without this band) to isolate the picture from the white frame Seurat had adopted to replace the traditional gold; and then, about 1889, the frame itself is done in contrasting colors (Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 130). Seurat is usually considered as having been the first to use both white and contrasting frames. Some doubt is cast on this by the juxtaposition of the two following quotations. Georges

Lecomte, in his biography of Pissarro (Paris, Bernheim-Jeune, 1922), says: "C'est ainsi que, à une exposition de 1877, après plusieurs essais, il [Pissarro] fait une manière de petite scandale en présentant ses toiles dans des cadres laqués dont la blancheur immaculée ne dérange pas les heureux accords réalisés, tandis que, au contraire, l'or risque d'y mettre un peu de perturbation. . . . Enfin, un peu plus tard, en 1880, Camille Pissarro se met à teindre ses cadres avec la complémentaire de la couleur dominante du tableau. . . . Ainsi les harmonies rayonnent dans leur splendeur intacte et même accentuée" (pp. 70-71). Now the above might be considered simply the enthusiasm of a biographer wishing to give precedence to his subject, were it not for the following statement of J. K. Huysmans, in his review of "L'Exposition des Indépendants en 1880": "Je laisserai de côté l'œuvre gravée de M. Pissarro, cernée par le violet de ses cadres entourant un papier jaune, de ce jaune des papiers à autographie, sur lequel sont piquées les pointes sèches et les eaux-fortes. . ." (*L'art moderne*, Paris, Plon, 1923, p. 106). Huysmans makes no reference to paintings, but the theory is there, and already put into execution (though in a rather special case), in 1880, therefore previous to Seurat. Further, Seurat was introduced to Pissarro by Signac (who had met him through Guillaumin) at the beginning of 1885, when the contrasting frames begin (cf. A. Tabarant, *Pissarro*, Paris, Rieder, 1931, p. 51). This suggests that the practice is perhaps originally due to Pissarro. However, no sure conclusion can be reached until some paintings of Pissarro are found, done between 1880 and 1884, and possessing contrasting color frames that are surely contemporary with the paintings.

were in the model Seurat copied. The hat is broad and flat, its brim tilts equally on both sides, its crown is round rather than conical and its high feather behind is missing; the umbrella does not yet have its gay red bow. The stuff of the dress below falls in broad contours, its silhouette rounded instead of in the jagged points of the painting. The white ribbon that, falling from the hat, gives added emphasis to the verticality of the whole, has not yet been introduced. In the outline drawing (Fig. 4), however, all these features of the still-life on the right, as well as all the other details of the corner of the room and the central figure, have been indicated as they will finally appear, so that the drawing is of a later stage than the two *conté*-crayons and the two *croquetons* we have just described and must directly precede the definitive *esquisse* now in the McIlhenny collection. Thus Seurat's final study for the *Poseuses* is one which emphasizes the organization of his picture surface into flat, bounded areas, areas whose spatial relationship is given, not by intervals realized as spatial and atmospheric volumes as in the *Grande-Jatte* (Fig. 1), but by linear overlappings whose representation omits atmospheric perspective, and greatly reduces the volume of the figure. It is true that in the final painting this change from the deep and emphasized recession of the *Grande-Jatte* is not quite so drastic; atmosphere and space do surround the central figure. Yet the angle of the room with its compression of planes is in itself a great change from the vast outdoor scenes that have thus far been Seurat's subjects. The introduction of the *Grande-Jatte* on the left wall only serves to increase this constraint; as the spreading out of the composition, the linear, scattered still-lives to right and left, the figures turned away from each other (two of them in broadest silhouette), the deliberate hiding of the corner of the room, and the treatment of the floor and the towel upon it, serve to flatten the space and give to the whole picture an aspect of confined relief.<sup>6</sup> Coupled with the introduction of angular silhouettes and jagged lines within specific forms is a general elongation of proportions, an attenuation of head and neck, a heaping of hair on the top of the head, which add a lightness and grace and even (as in the hat with its feather and ribbon) a humor that were not present in the models Seurat had before him. We may note just one more instance of this sort of stylization: the way in which the stocking that the model to the right is putting on has been twisted and then distended to contrast the broken outline of heel, instep, and toe with the smooth form of the stocking already drawn on the other leg. These are instances of stylization very different from that of the *Grande-Jatte*, a stylization of a decorative intent that will increase in Seurat's later pictures.

The extent and the direction of these stylizations may perhaps be better realized by contrasting these drawings for the *Poseuses* with a number of studies for the picture which immediately precedes the *Grande-Jatte*—the *Baignade* (London, National Gallery, Millbank).<sup>7</sup> Number 88 in Kahn's publication is a study for the *Chapeau, Souliers, Linge* of the center foreground of the *Baignade*; it contains no emphasis at all upon linear arrangement or decoration, and its chiaroscuro relief modeling has been preserved in the final painting. Number 86 is the first version of the man lying in the foreground; number 87 a later study

6. Schapiro (*op. cit.*, p. 13) has remarked upon the fact that the figures have no psychological relation to each other. This is likewise to be found in certain of Cézanne's works, the *Bathers*, for example. Spatially, however, there is a great difference, since Cézanne's figures help to define and limit the "hollow volume" of the center space, as indicated by their moving and turning in relation to this space, if not to each other. With Seurat this is not the case; the figures are strung out, one cannot revolve them around the central space as with Cézanne. It is also to be noted that

the perspective of the upper half of the *Grande-Jatte* has been changed so that the shadows lie more horizontal than they should, in order again that the angle of the room shall not appear to be too great.

7. The *Baignade* (Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 10), done in 1883-84, was shown in 1884 both at the transitory *Groupe des Artistes Indépendants*, and at the first exhibition of the *Société des Artistes Indépendants*, after having been refused by the Salon (Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 116).



almost identical with the painting (Figs. 7 and 8). Here the direction of stylization is the opposite of that which we have noted in the *Poseuses*; here there is simplification and smoothing of the silhouette, a rounding off of the contours of hat and shoulder, a suppression of the interior details of the folds of the shirt. The study for the boy seated on the bank (Kahn no. 127, now in the Morrison collection, London) shows this same simplification and the same preservation of the relief and the modeling of the figure, as does number 85, a conté crayon of the legs of this same figure.<sup>8</sup> We can thus see that the flattening, the linearization, and the introduction of detail that characterize the progress of the *Poseuses* are new and significant tendencies in Seurat's art.

*Les Grues et la Percée* of 1888 (Fig. 17) is typical of the tendencies which lead to this flatter, more decorative style, while retaining features of the older spatial composition. The main diagonal which runs from right to left is in itself a conventional feature, and its use is emphasized by the subsidiary diagonal, not actually established, but suggested by the break in the rocks and the buoy out beyond toward the horizon. The pattern of the rocks is still in the line of Seurat's older work, especially in the balancing of the two bare patches, with their curved irregular outlines; we have noted this method and these shapes occurring as early as the studies for the *Baignade*. But it is significant that the base of the picture is no strong horizontal but a waving line. For this line picks up the lines of the clouds and serves to emphasize how much the picture is now seen as flat pattern, and how while the middle space recedes, the sky has been deliberately brought forward to complete this pattern. Thus the increasing largeness of the rhythm of the rocks, which changes from the short sharp outlines of the upper left to the slow broad curves of the lower right foreground, is stopped by the bright curves at the bottom, and the eye is thrown back again to the sky, where the linear movement of the ribboned bands is similar to the jagged rocks.

The *Poudreuse* of the Courtauld collection was exhibited at the Indépendants in 1890, and may therefore be dated shortly before this (Fig. 12).<sup>9</sup> It shows an increasing use of that sort of pattern which, in contrast to the kind of pattern to be found in the *Baignade* and the *Grande-Jatte*, we may designate as "arbitrary." Table, plant, mirror, stylized bow, all are conceived according to a succession of curves that are continued both in the color pattern of the wall behind and the form of the woman herself. The skirt is modeled by a series of curves that not only repeat the shapes of arms and shoulder-straps but complete the circular pattern of the shadows on the wall. This is to say that these shapes, themselves established

8. The *Baignade* drawings suggest a characteristic of Seurat's early painting that has been little remarked and yet is important to note—the extremely close connection of these early studies with just ordinary academies. (Seurat studied at the Beaux-Arts in 1878 and 1879 under Lehmann, pupil and friend of Ingres. There are no drawings dated as of these two years; but we may note two copies of Holbein portraits [Kahn nos. 7 and 8] and associate them with the fact that, after Raphael, Holbein's portraits held the highest place in Ingres' esteem.) Compare the Morrison drawing with Kahn no. 42, a study of the back and head of a boy. Here the easel in the background shows us that this is nothing more than an academy, and the technique of both is the sort of thing on which many long hours are spent at the Beaux-Arts. Just as revealing is the *Nude Woman Standing* (Kahn no. 62, now Courtauld collection, London) where the pose with leg bent and the arms presumably resting on the back of a chair (which is not shown) is a pose typical of the academic model. The *Baignade* and the *Grande-Jatte*, as well as other pictures of 1884 and 1885, are thus still impregnated with an academic tradition that

forms an essential ingredient of Seurat's style, but one whose influence lessens as his painting develops and as he comes closer to other contemporary currents. This is not to say that the *Baignade* and the *Grande-Jatte* (much less the later paintings) are either "academic" or "classic," but simply that the solidity of the "art of the museums" for which Cézanne longed was not something that Seurat had to recapture, but was rather an element of style with which he began. Cf. Rich, *op. cit.*, and Schapiro, *op. cit.*, for a discussion of the relative classicism of the *Grande-Jatte*. The stage-set arrangement of the figures, which was abandoned in the *Grande-Jatte*, is still found in the study for the *Casseurs de Pierre* (New York, Museum of Modern Art, *Catalogue of the Bliss Collection*, 1934, p. 66, pl. 61, "1884 or earlier"). Here a classic background has been replaced by a realistic one, but the triangle of figures in the center foreground, the repetition of their lines in the buildings behind, the opening of the space in the left center, all are in the classic tradition.

9. Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 125. It was no. 727 in the exhibition.

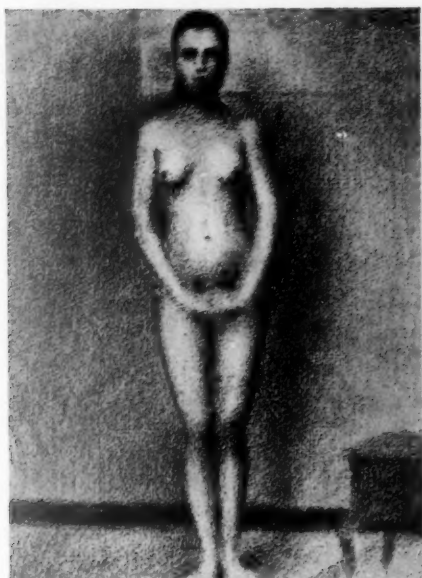


Fig. 3—Conté-crayon



Fig. 4—Drawing in  
Pen and Ink



Fig. 5—Conté-crayon

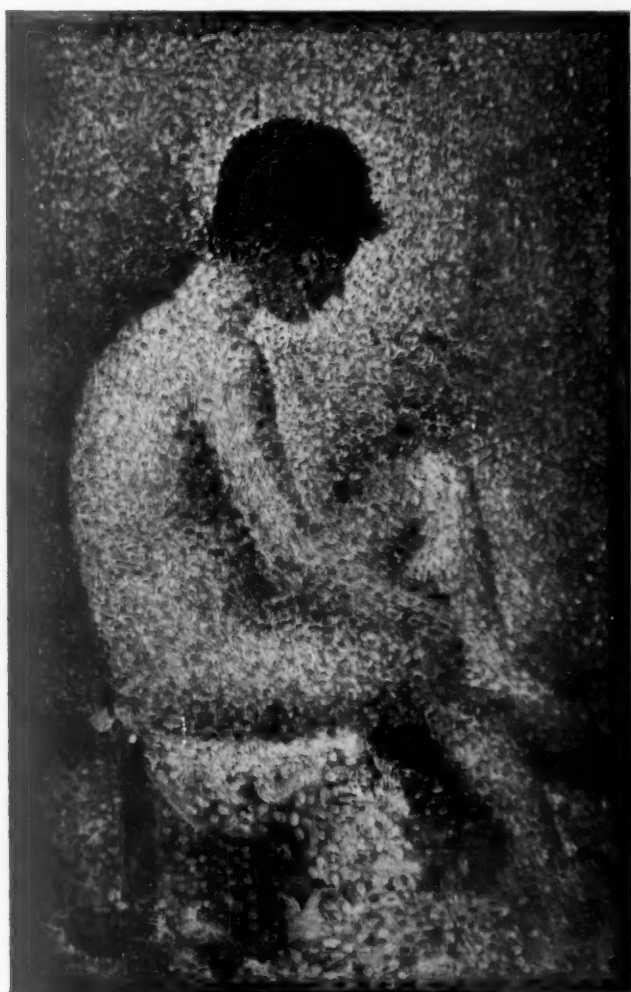


Fig. 6—Croqueton



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

FIGS. 3-6—SEURAT, STUDIES FOR LES POSEUSES

FIGS. 7-8—SEURAT, CONTÉ-CRAYON  
STUDIES FOR LA BAIGNADE



Fig. 9—Paris, Louvre: Color Sketch for *Le Cirque*

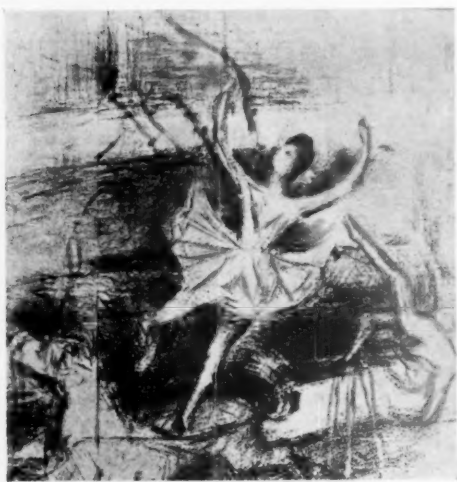


Fig. 10—Conté-crayon Study for *Le Cirque*



Fig. 12—London, Courtauld Collection: Seurat, *La Poudreuse*, 1889



Fig. 11—Paris, Musée du Luxembourg: Seurat, *Le Cirque*, 1890-91



Fig. 13—Wassenaar, Kröller-Müller Foundation: Seurat, *Le Chahut*, 1890



by contrasting color areas, are deliberately made to play a double rôle, functioning on the one hand as three-dimensional modeled form, and on the other as two-dimensional pattern. This is of course true of many another picture, and to say that it is here done consciously is no definition of this particular style. It is rather that the surface pattern remains as an imposed design, instead of apparently growing out of the construction of the whole. The result is a play between the design of the painting and its subject that, by leaving each of them separate rather than fusing the two into a single "interpreted subject" produces a tension, and thus a humor that is one of the chief effects of the picture. The folds of the skirt and the other forms of the robust woman are played upon by the pattern of the table legs (which define a shape just as voluminous but empty), by the flattened symmetrical design of the plant behind it, and finally by the curved lines on the wall itself. Seurat has juxtaposed without merging (as he merged in the *Grande-Jatte*) his decorative scheme and his three-dimensional, spatial form. This consciousness of pattern apart from the objects involved shows how closely Seurat is allied to the general style of his time. Quite aside from such *art nouveau* details as the shape of the table, the outline of the hair behind the neck, the points of the ribbon upon the mirror, this consciousness allies Seurat to the "symbolist" theories of his contemporaries. That Seurat employs this abstract pattern in a humorous way does not dissociate him from its influence. How easy it would be—and one would hardly be stretching the point—to fit *La Poudreuse* into the mold of Gauguin's "objective" and "subjective" deformations.<sup>10</sup>

The fundamental pictures for the "final" style of Seurat are of course the *Parade* (1888-89) (Fig. 16), the *Chahut* (1890) (Fig. 13), and the *Cirque* (1890-91) (Fig. 11), the last of which was not altogether finished at the time of Seurat's death, although he considered it far enough advanced to exhibit. Essential also for our consideration of this style are the sketches made for these pictures. Great emphasis has been laid on the number and the nature of the sketches executed for the earlier canvases, and especially of course for the *Grande-Jatte*. The spatial layout, the detailing of the parts, the crayon drawings of the figures, the filling in of the space with these figures are correctly seen as leading to an understanding of Seurat's conception and purpose, and to a grasp of the method and manner of his transformation and integration of nature. But it has not been sufficiently noted that for these latter pictures, as large in conception as the *Grande-Jatte*, such sketches are almost entirely lacking. In Seurat's atelier at the time of his death there were found thirty-eight *croquetons* for the *Grande-Jatte*; for the *Chahut* and the *Cirque* there exist but one such sketch apiece.<sup>11</sup> For the *Grande-Jatte* there were twenty-three preparatory drawings in addition to the *croquetons*; for the *Chahut* there was only one, and for the *Cirque* but three. If further we take into account those pictures done immediately before and after the *Grande-Jatte*, we see that this is no sudden change: for the *Baignade* there were ten drawings and thirteen *croquetons*; for the *Poseuses* five drawings and four *croquetons*; for the *Parade* four drawings and three *croquetons*. These are significant figures, whose full import we will return to later; for the moment we may remark that they indicate something very different from an increasing mastery over a style.

10. We will see below that this consciousness of surface pattern is one of the features that allies Seurat with the general artistic trend of 1885-1890. Novotny, *op. cit.*, p. 148, also notes Seurat's concern with pattern, and points out that the pattern form of the individual object is related to that of the picture as a whole.

11. This enumeration is taken from Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 144,

who had access to it through Félix Fénéon, one of the executors. That the list may not be altogether accurate is indicated by the fact that Rich (*op. cit.*, pp. 53-61) cites twenty-one drawings, twenty-six sketches and three studies "preparatory" to the *Grande-Jatte*, and sixteen drawings and four sketches as "associated" works.

How true this is becomes clear when we examine not alone the number, but also the character of the drawings. For the *Grande-Fatte* there are no line drawings. All the sketches, whether in conté-crayon or in color, are conceived in three-dimensional terms, either of the modeling of the individual figure, or of the organization of space.<sup>12</sup> For the linear organization, for the flat decorative pattern, there are no studies. But in these last paintings, Seurat's concern with this aspect of composition dominates the others. It is not simply that he makes outline drawings, as we have already seen him doing for the *Poseuses*, but that tensions and balances, whether in black and white or in color, as they exist upon the surface of the picture plane, become his almost exclusive concern. Take for example the conté-crayon study for *La Parade* (Kahn no. 123) (Fig. 14). Here within the individual figures, there is no modeling, hardly even a contrast of flat planes; there is only the juxtaposition and contrast of the plane of the figure with the planes surrounding it.<sup>13</sup> The consciousness of the continuity of spatial recession, which, in spite of all emphasis on "measuring posts," exists from the very beginning of the three-dimensional conception of the *Grande-Fatte*, is here replaced by jumps from one parallel plane to the next, the distance between the planes being indicated by a variation in their values and a reduction in size of the figures they contain. Moreover the preparatory color study for *La Parade* (formerly in the Vildrac collection, Paris) is entirely a study in linear, decorative tensions (Fig. 15). The uniformity of stroke, which we have seen partly sacrificed before, here gives way entirely to modifications designed to indicate force and direction. The stroke of the foreground figures follows their contours; to emphasize their repetitive pattern the railing is done in long horizontal strokes; the gas-jets above are centers of light which radiate strong strokes of color towards each other and down into the picture. The shapes of the objects themselves, however, do not necessarily determine the lines of force: the windows at the right, vertical in shape, are nevertheless carried out in horizontal strokes, in order that the balance of horizontal and vertical, obviously one of the main decorative themes of the picture, may be preserved. (In the finished painting this horizontality is maintained by breaking the window into a light area above and dark area below, and by further emphasizing the row of lights that shine through from the room behind.) Even the legs of the trombone player are broken by horizontal touches, while his chest and arms are done in vertical lines. And finally, the distribution of these strokes is far from being even, as it is in the sketches for the *Grande-Fatte* and the *Poseuses*, so that density of area is likewise made to play its part in the distribution of the decorative pattern.

The studies for the *Cirque* show Seurat with the same predominant attitude, occupied with the same problems. The drawing of equestrienne and tumbler (Kahn no. 124) (Fig. 10) is above all a surface design: the movement of the figures is entirely across the picture plane, with rider and clown spread out flat as they are in the finished painting, their actions conveyed entirely by linear contour. These figures are spots of light against the summarily indicated bands of the grandstand in the background, shown as strips of varying darkness with no interior detail. Spatial relations are reduced to a minimum; there is some distance suggested between the rider and the clown by variation in size, but little indication of the depth of the circus ring or the recession of the seats. The whole serves primarily as a decorative background with which to set off the jagged contours of the moving figures.<sup>14</sup>

12. Cf. Rich, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

13. This change is the reason why many preparatory conté drawings of individual figures cannot exist.

14. A drawing for the clown of the lower foreground

(Kahn no. 103, inscribed "Dernier dessin de G. Seurat") is again a study of angular contour and emphasizes its straight line contrasts considerably more than does the final version.

The colored *esquisse* for the *Cirque* (Paris, Louvre) (Fig. 9) bears the same marks as those we have found in the *Parade*—the mood is of course a very different one, but this only serves to emphasize how much Seurat is now thinking in terms of total surface decoration conveyed by linear means.<sup>15</sup> Swirling lines replace the stolid horizontals and verticals, and the strokes follow these lines. Areas which are to be light are left entirely blank so that the horse and the head of the clown have become rather flat, reserved areas with no interior modeling. Similarly, by leaving large areas of the grandstand white they are brought further forward than in the finished composition; on the other hand the curves of the seats, shown in the sketch, are flattened to straight lines in the final painting.

The *Parade*, the *Chahut*, and the *Cirque* all exhibit certain stylistic characteristics which we have seen in milder form in the *Poseuses* and the *Poudreuse*, and they thus represent a new stage in Seurat's style. The *Parade* (Fig. 16) is a directly frontal composition, placed above the spectator's eye-level, and lacking in orthogonal lines.<sup>16</sup> A foreground plane (though we cannot be sure it is the same one) is established by the gas-jets above and the silhouetted heads below.<sup>17</sup> There are a great many planes indicated behind this first one, but the intervals between them are omitted, and their distance is only suggested by slight changes of clarity. The silhouetting of the figures against the lighter middle ground is very different from those three-dimensional silhouettes that characterize the earlier paintings; they lead the eye across from figure to figure rather than into the picture space. In the *Chahut* (Fig. 13) this spatial compression increases further. The foreground plane is again established by a figure looking in with his back turned to the spectator, but the effect of this figure is by no means to create a deep space. Rather the approximately parallel lines of flute, double-bass, and legs of the chorus are seen as on the same plane, so that the diminishing feet do not actually realize a recession in depth.<sup>18</sup> The upward glances of orchestra leader and spectator, each on a different plane, looking at the ballet which is on a third plane, are both directed across the picture and not at all at their actual object. The background plane, as in the *Parade*, is parallel to the picture plane, and though represented as rather far away (as we can see if we look at the spectators' heads below), appears to be rather close. The gas-jets to the left and above serve further to increase the surface pattern. The *Cirque* (Fig. 11) has the same foreground figure as have the two other pictures. But now the spectator is looking down into the circus ring so that a horizontal plane can be represented and thus give depth to the composition. In addition, the curve of the circus ring should lead the eye back into the space. In spite of this, the *Cirque* is effective largely as a surface design. This "poster-like" effect is in part due to the light and bright colors employed, colors in a strident key, almost all of the same intensity and with little suggestion either of modeling or of atmospheric perspective.<sup>19</sup> In part also it is due to the repetition of line and stripe patterns that cause the eye to play over the surface as a whole. But in large measure it is due to a multiple perspective that treats every part of the composition

15. A reproduction of this sketch is to be found in René Huyghe (ed.), *Histoire de l'art contemporain*, Paris, 1935. Chapter II, p. 27.

16. Cf. Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 25, and Roger Fry, "Seurat's La Parade," *Burlington Magazine*, LV, 1929, pp. 289-93, for analyses of this picture. Barr here sees Seurat as "consciously or unconsciously . . . affected by Egyptian reliefs which he had seen at the Louvre."

17. The frieze-like use of the gas-jets begins as early as 1885, according to Cousturier's dating of the drawing of the *Banquistes* (Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 62; Kahn no. 102). Here the desire to flatten the composition is clearly evident from the profile posing of the figures, and the twisted

shoulders of the clown, which suggest a relation to Egyptian relief that Barr (*loc. cit.*) has suggested for the *Parade*.

18. What a change has taken place here since the *Grande-Jatte* may be suggested by a comparison of Rey's analysis of the *Chahut* (*op. cit.*, pp. 124-27), with the straight- and curved-line analysis Rich makes of the *Grande-Jatte* (*op. cit.*, pp. 27, 29). Without subscribing to Rey's geometrical conclusions, we can observe how much more of the total effect of the picture is given by a linear analysis than in the case of the earlier work.

19. Cf. Florent Fels, "Les dessins de Seurat," *L'amour de l'art*, VIII, 1927, 43-46.



as if the spectator were at its own level. Thus we do not look down nearly enough upon the foreground clown, nor up enough at the spectators in the balcony, most of whom are drawn as silhouettes at eye level. We can see the belly and hind leg under the belly of the horse, even though the nearly horizontal and practically parallel lines of the upper balcony (in reality a section of a curve) indicate our eye-level is near the top of the picture. At the same time the supposed angle of vertical vision is many times too great, so that we of necessity flatten the picture by looking at it in separate parts. Thus the imagined relation of the foreground clown to the ring as it would continue forward under him is impossible to construct, and each row of spectators in the stands is seen as silhouettes looking straight out at the observer on their own level. To a lesser extent this "absolutizing" of the perspective is also to be found in the *Parade* and the *Chahut*. In the *Parade* the eye-level is even with the stand of the trombone player. In certain details this is taken into account: the end of the trombone is seen from below, the stand in front of the three musicians is in receding perspective. On the other hand, the ring master and the boy in profile are viewed from in front rather than from beneath, and the row of decorative gas-jets across the top is entirely outside the perspective of the picture. Indeed the arrangement of the whole is such that an abstraction of space seems to be made in favor of a decorative recession of planes that is as absolute for the position of the figures as it is immobile for their poses. In the *Chahut* the eye-level similarly moves up and down the picture at will: conductor and chorus man are each seen directly horizontally, the girls' heads are viewed from below, but not their left arms, and the lights to the left and at the top are once more decorative motives with no specific spatial relationship to the rest of the picture.

These three canvases are in effect the final stage in a gradual evolution of Seurat's vision. Seurat begins by seeing in the round, by seeing volume and space as a gradual transition from light to dark, by seeing in terms of modeling. In his last pictures he sees space in terms of parallel planes one behind the other with almost no modeling involved. This seems to carry with it, in the compositions we have just discussed, a flattening of the total space represented, but that it need not do so is shown by certain of the landscapes of these last three years.<sup>20</sup> It is only natural that the change should be somewhat less marked in the drawings than in the finished compositions, that to the end the drawings should remain rounder than the paintings. There is nevertheless a great difference in conception between such a drawing as the *Portrait of Signac* (1890; Cousturier, plate 53), and studies like the *Portrait of his Father* (1881; Kahn no. 46) or the *Woman Sewing* in the Museum of Modern Art (1883; Kahn no. 63); and within the limitations of the medium we can observe a tendency towards a flattening of planes parallel to that found in the paintings. The very fact that the conté-crayon drawings decrease so rapidly after about 1885 is indicative of this tendency, since the nature of the medium lends itself to continuous, graduated modeling rather than to line, and it was for this peculiarity that Seurat had singled it out at the start.

In this connection it is perhaps possible to clarify a peculiarity of composition that is found in several paintings of the period 1885-87. Schapiro has already noticed "the remark-

20. In this connection compare especially the *Chenal de Gravelines, un Soir* (1890; Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 34) with *Marée Basse à Grandcamp* (1885; *ibid.*, pl. 15). The earlier canvas still preserves the impressionist desire for a continuity of atmospheric perspective as an essential element of recession. The later canvas conveys no less an effect of distance, but is composed in the separate bands of quay, water, and sea wall, each parallel to the picture plane, and each a distinct light and color area sharply separated from

its neighbor. Thus the recession is given in jumps, rather than through a gradually changing continuum. Compare also *Le Hospice et le Phare à Honfleur* (1886) and *L'Entrée et le Port de Honfleur* (1886; formerly Goetz collection, Berlin) with *Le Crottoy: à val* (Edward G. Robinson collection, Beverly Hills) and *Le Crottoy: à mont* (both 1889) for a similar, though less marked change (reproductions in Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 23, 21, 31, and 32, respectively).



Fig. 14—Conté-crayon

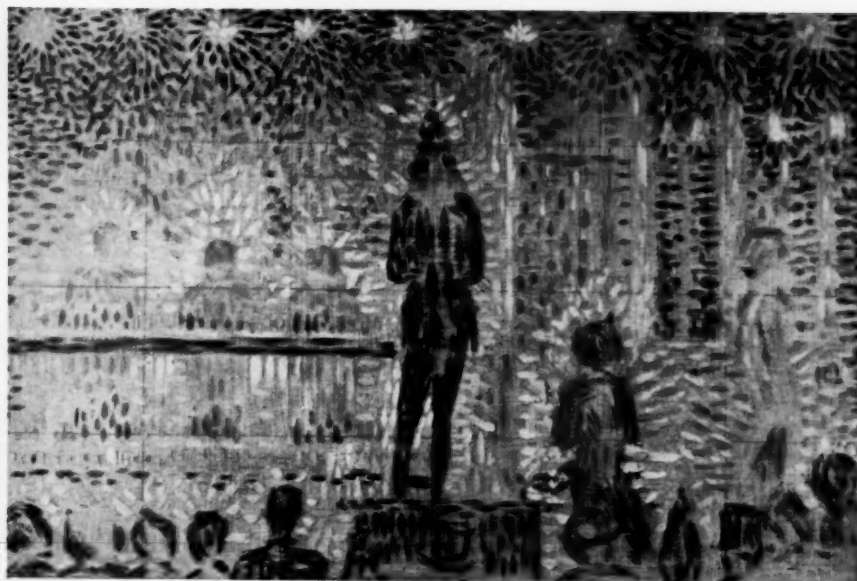


Fig. 15—Color Study

FIGS. 14-15—STUDIES FOR LA PARADE



Fig. 16—New York, Stephen C. Clark Collection: Seurat, La Parade, 1888-89



Fig. 17—New York, Market: Seurat, Les Grues et la Percée, 1888



Fig. 18—New York, Market: Seurat, La Berge à la Grande-Jatte, 1885



able dualism in perspective whereby the figures in the first plane are all rendered in uniform profile, as if seen from points in front of each figure, but are graded in size as if seen from the extreme right side of the space."<sup>21</sup> Now this dualism is not confined to the *Grande-Jatte*. Thus in *La Berge à la Grande-Jatte* (1885) (Fig. 18), the trees to right and left which serve to frame the picture and to establish the first, repoussoir plane, are themselves at different points upon a spatial diagonal that recedes from right to left; this latter fact is obscured by a uniform intensity that brings them equally forward, and also by the repetition of this frontal plane in that of the shore in the distance. This same construction is used in *Le Pont de Courbevoie* (1887; Courtauld collection, London). Here the first frontal plane is formed by the tree at the right border and by the overhanging leaves in the upper left corner, coming from a tree which is much further back upon the bank. The horizontal planes of docks and bridge in the distance emphasize the construction in planes parallel to the frontal plane and establish that balance of receding and surface composition that is a characteristic feature of these pictures.<sup>22</sup> There is here, in effect, a balance between such more diagonally-viewed compositions as the *Fishermen* (1883) which are to be found among Seurat's early work, compositions that are close to the impressionist manner of seeing, and his later, flatter compositions.<sup>23</sup> The *Fishermen* is still viewed from above, in the manner of a Japanese print, and the recession of the parallel fishing-rods is given by the point of view. But in the *Berge à la Grande-Jatte* and the *Pont de Courbevoie* this point of view is at variance with the tall vertical objects that rise far to the top of and even out of the picture, all of them taller than the spectator, above his eye-level, and yet seen at every point in their height as if in a horizontal line of vision. This combination is of course especially characteristic of the *Grande-Jatte*, where the tall couple to the right and the trees in the middle ground are at right angles to the picture plane, while one looks down upon the rising diagonal shore line.<sup>24</sup> The union of these two points of view may once more be seen if one compares the landscape sketch for the *Baignade* without its figures, with the finished picture: the introduction in the latter of a right and left, up and down movement is quite clear.<sup>25</sup>

There is one further observation to be made about the germs of Seurat's later style found in his earlier works. In none of his paintings are the spatial relations of his figures established to any important extent by the overlapping of those figures. Characteristically, his figures stand free and clear of each other, and each one has its own completed silhouette. In the *Parade*, for example, the silhouettes of the crowd in the foreground are arranged in an even rhythm side by side across the canvas. There is no bunching, no three-dimensional grouping, no overlapping. The rule holds good for the *Baignade* and the *Poseuses*, and for the large majority of the landscapes. It applies also to the *Grande-Jatte* for all but two of the figures, the two top-hatted men, one seated to the left, the other standing behind the woman at the right; and it is significant that the distance of these figures from those in front of them should be the least clearly defined of the whole canvas. This separation and isolation

21. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

22. *Le Pont de Courbevoie* is reproduced in the Museum of Modern Art Catalogue, First Loan Exhibition, 1929, pl. 71.—Compare also the drawing *Au Concert Européen* (Museum of Modern Art; Kahn no. 36, dated by Cousturier 1884, but not shown until the Indépendants of 1888). Here the scene is cut at an angle and the direction of the audience's heads is diagonally to the left. But the space of the picture with the silhouetted singer at the deep end is composed in planes parallel to the picture plane.

23. Compare the *Fishermen* (Cousturier, *op. cit.*, pl. 5) with Monet's *Déchargeurs de Charbon à Argenteuil* (1872), although, characteristically, Monet's figures are moving ones, and Seurat's are immobile.

24. Cf. Rich, *op. cit.*, Chapter III, *passim*.

25. The composition of this study, with its arrangement of foreground and background shores, its view from the high bank down on to the water, is one of the typical impressionist arrangements. It is the type that Cézanne adopted for his *Estaque* series.

of the individual silhouette is indicative of a vision that sees space in planes rather than as a continuum, and so is potentially capable of flattening the space it renders by bringing these planes closer together. Thus though the space of the *Grande-Jatte* is "endlessly peopled," in that the figures move back with the space and seem to continue indefinitely, it is, as Rich has noted, by no means continuously or haphazardly peopled.<sup>26</sup> Rather the personages create planes of measurement through which the recession of the space may be judged by the repetition of intervals. But, as Schapiro points out, this is very different from confining the figures to the few planes of a foreground stage.<sup>27</sup>

The *Chahut* and the *Cirque* seem to present some exceptions to this analysis in that they show figures viewed as directly in front of others. In the *Chahut*, however, the overlapping of the figures is reduced to a repetition of outline of forms spread out parallel to the picture plane, so that the problem of the relative positions of three-dimensional masses is not at all considered. In minor instances the *Cirque* simplifies the question in like fashion, as in the figures behind the ringmaster; major overlappings are, however, carefully avoided. The spectators in the stand are spaced so that horse and equestrienne and tumbler fall into the spaces between them, and a large section of the stand is left empty for the extended arms and flying skirts and hair of the rider. Whole rows are left unfilled so that the figures in front will not hide those behind. And when, at the right edge, Seurat wishes to produce the impression of a crowd, he does it as in the *Chahut*, by the repetition of a single form which is in its turn built up by the multiplication of a single silhouetted shape.<sup>28</sup>

## II

Our concern thus far has been with the direction of Seurat's art. Before turning our attention to the relation of his stylistic evolution to the painting of the time, we would do well to recall briefly the work of his contemporaries. The decade 1880-90 witnessed the dissolution of the impressionist group that had been exhibiting together since 1874; and it was in part due to disaffections within the group and a desire to widen its appeal, that Seurat was asked to join the eighth, and last, exhibition in 1886. By 1890 Monet had gone far along the road that took him away from a concern with naturalistic transcription toward color harmonies growing solely from the internal laws of the canvas: in 1886 he did the series at Étretat, in 1891 the sequences of *Poplars* and *Haystacks*. From 1883 to 1887, Renoir painted in his "dry" style under Italian influence. Cézanne worked on his own transformation of impressionism, but he did not show in Paris until 1895. Of the younger generation—Seurat's real contemporaries—van Gogh was in Paris from 1886 to 1888, where he was friendly with Emile Bernard; Gauguin, whose disciple Bernard soon became, painted his Brittany pictures with flat colors and heavily outlined areas that were at the basis of the "synthetist" theories of his followers. Between 1885 and 1890 Lautrec developed his characteristic style, and in 1889 he and Bonnard did their first posters. During the same

26. Cf. Schapiro, *loc. cit.*, and Rich, *loc. cit.*

27. In this respect *La Baignade* is considerably more "classic." Classic also is the way in which the triangle of the seated figures repeats the triangle of the shore (microcosm and macrocosm), and the double diagonal composition of the whole, both characteristics more striking in the *croquetons* with figures (e.g., one with two figures in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City) than in the finished version.

28. The reader will have noticed that the subject of Seurat's color and its changes in his later works has been largely neglected in the foregoing analysis. This has been

deliberate, since the writer has not recently seen many of the pictures discussed. A few general observations may, however, be permitted. First, there are often variations from the theory of simultaneous color contrasts—e.g., in many of the early pictures, notably *La Baignade*. Secondly, there is a general lightening and brightening of the colors used in the later pictures (with the exception of *La Parade*, which shows a night scene). And thirdly, there is a general decrease in the contrasts of tone in the later pictures. It will be seen that the last two tendencies are in line with that flattening of the individual figure and narrowing of the total space that has been described.

period Eugène Grasset, partly under the influence of English "Arts and Crafts," evolved his own influential "modern" manner of poster and decoration. And in 1889 *La Plume*, organ of the younger painters and writers, was founded. Thus in his last five years Seurat was the contemporary of various developing aspects of a new style—which, suddenly growing from such origins as these, flowered into that omniprevalant manner of poster, crafts, and architectural decoration of the decade 1890–1900 known as *art nouveau*. Seurat's own later work has close affinities with that of these other artists who were among the founders of *art nouveau*.

It is well known that the last pictures of Seurat were painted in accordance with a conscious and well-defined theory. This is the theory of simultaneous contrasts of color that Seurat had studied in the books of Chevreul<sup>29</sup> and Rood. Later admirably explained and analyzed by Rey, it was first presented to the public by Félix Fénéon in 1886, à propos of his criticism of the *Grande-Jatte*, shown at the Eighth Impressionist Exhibition held in the Rue Laffitte: "Si, dans la *Grande-Jatte* de M. Seurat, l'on considère par exemple, un dm<sup>2</sup>. couvert d'un ton uniforme, on trouvera sur chacun des centimètres de cette superficie, en une tourbillante cohue de menues macules, tous les éléments constitutifs du ton. Cette pelouse dans l'ombre: des touches, en majorité, donnent la valeur locale de l'herbe; d'autres, d'orangées, se clairesèment, exprimant la peu sensible action solaire; d'autres, de pourpre, font intervenir la complémentaire du vert; un bleu cyané, provoqué par la proximité d'une nappe d'herbe au soleil, accumule ses criblures vers la ligne de démarcation et les rarifie progressivement en deçà."<sup>30</sup> There are the contrasts of *tons* (light and dark) and the contrasts of *teintes* (the three fundamental color complementaries: red-green, blue-orange, violet-yellow), which, in their interaction, modify each other almost to infinity. But between the time of Fénéon's description and Seurat's own explanation in his famous letter to Maurice Beaubourg in 1890, a change took place.<sup>31</sup> Fénéon expounded the theory entirely on the basis of tone and color; Seurat added the contrasts of line. The first is an exposition that fits the *Baignade* and the *Grande-Jatte*; the second is appropriate to the *Cirque*, the *Chahut*, and (to a lesser extent) the *Parade*. Moreover, Seurat worked out a theory of the symbolic expression of mood in terms of tone, color, and line, and his emphasis was on its ability to translate emotion through objectively-determined means: "L'art, c'est l'harmonie. L'harmonie, c'est l'analogie des contraires, l'analogie des semblables, de ton, de teinte, de ligne, considérés par la dominante et sous l'influence d'un éclairage en combinaisons gaies, calmes, ou tristes . . . La gaieté de *ton*, c'est la dominante lumineuse; de *teinte*, la dominante chaude; de *ligne*, les lignes au dessus de l'horizontale. Le calme du ton, c'est l'égalité du sombre et du clair; de teinte, du chaude et du froid, et l'horizontale pour la ligne. La triste du ton, c'est la dominante froide, et de ligne, les directions abaissées."<sup>32</sup> These sentences are part of the first section of his letter, to which he gave the theoretical title "Esthétique," while on "technique" there is only a second and minor section; but it was with just such technical questions of method that Fénéon was chiefly concerned.

Rey has pointed out that the theories of Charles Henry and Signac probably played a large part in Seurat's interest in linear expression.<sup>33</sup> He has also pointed to Seurat's study

29. *Loi du contraste simultané*, 1st ed., Paris, 1827; 2nd ed., Paris, 1887.

30. Félix Fénéon, *Les impressionnistes en 1886*, Paris, Publications de la Vogue, 1886, p. 20.

31. This letter, written to correct some errors that had crept into Jules Christophe's transcription of Seurat's theory (in his *Georges Seurat*, Paris, Léon Vannier, 1890),

is quoted by Gustave Coquiot, *Seurat*, Paris, Albin Michel, ca. 1924, pp. 232–33, and given in facsimile by Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

32. Coquiot, *loc. cit.*

33. Rey, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 140. It should be noted that of Henry's three books, two (*Le rapporteur esthétique*, and *La cercle chromatique*) were published in 1888.



of the geometrical analyses of antique art that a certain M. D. Sutter published in *L'art* in 1880, though again we do not know exactly when Seurat first read them.<sup>34</sup> But little stress has been laid upon the fact that interest in this sort of theory, as well as the form that it takes in the paintings, is characteristic of the period in which Seurat was working (1885-91). This is the time of Gauguin and Emile Bernard and Paul Serusier in Brittany and Paris, the time of "synthetists" and "symbolists."<sup>35</sup> Maurice Denis (in 1885?) invents the terms "objective" and "subjective deformation" (stylizations of pattern, and of expression) and thus defines the intention of his art: "À chaque état de notre sensibilité devait correspondre une harmonie objective capable de le traduire."<sup>36</sup> In 1891 Paul Serusier published his *A B C de la peinture*, which like the theories of Sutter attempted to find laws of harmony, of construction, of proportion through an analysis of the works of the ancients.<sup>37</sup> Serusier finds his touchstone in the Pythagorean theory of numbers, and the proportions of the golden section, much as did Charles Henry. Sutter talks of "les lois de l'unité, de l'ordre, de l'harmonie," "quel que soit le degré d'élévation du sujet."<sup>38</sup> (Whatever terms such attempts to find laws of composition employ, they tend to eliminate the suggested third dimension from their paradigms, and to find their principles in two-dimensional relationships, so that Seurat's concern with this type of analysis was related to the tendency of his later works.) Thus not Seurat alone, but many others of his time, and more especially of his generation, were trying to find a wider basis for their art than the "nature seen through a temperament" that was the conscious theoretical justification of the impressionists. When Seurat studied the scientific treatises of Rood and Charles Henry, and when he proclaimed that "L'art c'est l'harmonie. L'harmonie, c'est l'analogie des contraires," he was seeking for some means other than his own taste, sensibility, and judgment by which to produce a good work of art, and to judge the work of art once it is produced. That is why he and the others of this time were interested in geometrical analyses of the ancients. By these means they hoped to arrive at objective and time-tested methods of composition which would be, as Serusier claimed for his number relationships (and as Seurat sought in his color relationships) those "sur lesquelles est construit le monde extérieur"; and moreover which were, just for this reason, significant and expressive of emotions and ideas.<sup>39</sup>

Now it is clear that there was nothing of the mystic about Seurat. He would certainly not have wanted to reestablish the "preëminence of the imagination" that was the proud claim of the symbolists, he would not have wanted to "reach for the stars" with Albert Aurier, nor would he have wished to justify his art by metaphysical theories.<sup>40</sup> Yet in the light of his letter to Maurice Beaubourg, we may justly suppose that he would later have modified the well-known sentence quoted by Charles Angrand: "Certains critiques me font l'honneur de mettre de la poésie. Mais je peins d'après ma méthode, sans aucun autre souci."<sup>41</sup> We have seen that in his last years he was beginning to be concerned with the effects and significance of his method. Nor must we forget that the extreme concern of the synthetists with "subjective deformation" and the "centre mystérieux de la pensée" was extremely short-lived, and that they too, following Serusier, were soon concerned with the general laws of art. They quickly abandoned their interest in the naïve, and by 1895

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-29, 143.

35. On the subject of Gauguin and the synthetists, cf. Charles Chassé, *Gauguin et le groupe de Pont Aven*, Paris, Floury, 1921; and Anne Armstrong Wallis, *The Symbolist Painters of 1890*, New York University (Thesis), 1938.

36. Maurice Denis, "De Gauguin et de van Gogh au classicisme," *Théories: 1890-1910*, Paris, Rouart et Wa-

telin, 1920, p. 267.

37. A second edition was issued in Paris by Floury, 1921.

38. Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

39. Serusier, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

40. Denis, *op. cit.*, pp. 264, 268.

41. Quoted by Rey, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

both Bernard and Denis were looking for models and for laws in the art and the philosophy of the ancients.<sup>42</sup> To be sure, Seurat's art always remained less personally expressive, and he was always more interested in finding an "equivalent" for the mood of the object than in his personal reaction to it; yet his conscious and theoretical solution of his problem was in the spirit of his time. Akin to the symbolists, too, was his consciousness of the abstract surface pattern of his pictures, and his willingness to "deform" a naturalistic representation so that he might achieve this "certain order" of the arrangement of line and color.<sup>43</sup> We have seen that in his later pictures he is willing to abandon the fusions of pattern and representation that had existed in his earlier work; he now lets them exist side by side or lets the pattern dominate. Like the synthetists, during the same years when they were working—and for the first time in modern art—he, and they, substitute for the "illusion" of reality, the "suggestion" of the heavily-laden reference to, and interpretation of, reality. Thus the desire for systematization and stylization connects Seurat closely with his younger contemporaries of 1880-90, and shows an affinity that grows as his style and theory develop, an affinity that must not be hidden by an initial adoption of an "impressionist" technique, or his initial alliance with an "Impressionist" exhibition.

But Seurat's affinity with the currents of his own time and generation is more than theoretical. As has already been suggested, it is to be found from the beginning of his work, and grows as his painting changes. The affinity itself does not, naturally, keep the same character throughout, although it retains some permanent elements. From 1885 to about 1888 the relationship is found mainly in those irregularly shaped areas, usually made up of balanced fields of light and dark, that have been noted in the *Baignade* and the *Grues et la Percée*. The colors of these areas are carried out according to the theory of color contrasts, and their tones are determined by the surface pattern. But their outlines, irregular yet continuous, broken yet flowing, used to pick up and repeat the rhythm of the figures, decorative rather than massive in effect, employed to bind horizontal and vertical planes together, may be found in the work of other men of the time. Perhaps the most striking analogy is with Gauguin's use of similar forms. They are to be found, to select but a few characteristic examples, in the trees and landscape of the *Yellow Christ* (1889),<sup>44</sup> in the plants and flowers of *Joyfulness* (1892),<sup>45</sup> and in the decorative arrangement of the foreground areas in the *Day of the God* (1894) (Fig. 22). The affinity of Seurat's early work is then with that part of the growing *art nouveau* movement (which like most such movements had begun long before it received its name) that makes large use of decorative *areas* in its compositions, areas of irregular, stylized shape which yet carry with them the reminiscence of naturalistic forms.

The affinity of Seurat's later style is in his use of line, line that may be called "symbolic" if we bear in mind the limitations of this adjective imposed by Seurat's theory. We have seen the process of stylization that took place in the formation of the *Poseuses*, not alone the introduction of line, but the elongation and the pointing of the forms, and especially the characteristic form of taut curves meeting in a point, found in the still-lives and in the hair. Here decorative area and expressive contour line are balanced as in many similar forms employed in Gauguin's pictures (where, however, they remain more flat and uniform in tone), where the same stylization with typifying repetitive intention has taken place.<sup>46</sup> The same

42. Wallis, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

43. Maurice Denis, "Définition du néo-traditionisme," *Théories: 1890-1910*, p. 1 (first published in *Art et critique*, August 23, 1890): "Se rappeler qu'un tableau—avant d'être un cheval de bataille, une femme nue, ou une quelconque anecdote—est essentiellement une surface plane recouverte de couleurs en un certain ordre assemblées."

44. New York, Art Market (reproduced in John Rewald, *Gauguin*, Paris, 1938, pl. 80).

45. *Ibid.*, pl. 106.

46. Compare especially the use that Gauguin makes of the floral designs on the printed stuffs of native clothes, as in *La Orana Maria* and *Tahitian Women on the Beach*.

characteristics are found in that curved group of silhouettes that makes up the right edge of the *Parade*, and in its frieze of gas-jets along the top. The mood this line is intended to convey in these pictures remains somewhat doubtful.<sup>47</sup> In *Port-en-Bessin, un Dimanche* (1888; *Indépendants*, 1890) (Fig. 20), where this decorative, and at the same time descriptive, line appears for the first time in all its force, there can be no question: the waving flags have been painted in a manner obviously at variance with the rest of the picture, and clearly motivated by theoretical and "symbolic" considerations; they are there to show the gaiety of this otherwise tranquil scene. Seurat's affinity with this side of *art nouveau* is strikingly evident in an amusing design of 1887, a study for the jacket of Victor Joze's novel, *L'homme à femmes* (Kahn no. 81) (Fig. 19). Here, in spite of all pointillism, is a flat, decorative composition in two-dimensional bands of color that attempts the spirit and manner of Seurat's contemporaries and demonstrates just how far Seurat could go in this direction. (It is significant that Victor Joze also collaborated with other painters of this time and style: for his *Reine de joie* Toulouse-Lautrec executed both jacket and poster, and also did the poster for his *Babylone d'Allemagne*, the jacket for which was done by Bonnard.)<sup>48</sup> The limitations suggested here—limitations as to mordant draughtsmanship and quickly-caught anecdote that are the concomitants of the positive qualities of Seurat's art—have been accepted in the severe and typified stylization of the *Chahut* and the *Cirque*, yet these pictures belong to the style of their time no less for that. The use of bands, the half flame-like, half floral character of the repeated upward sweeping line, now carry out completely the details we have noted in earlier pictures. That style—the linear extreme of *art nouveau*—needs no lengthy description; in France alone it stretched from Grasset (Fig. 21) to Emile Bernard, from Gallé to the Rose Croix, in England it included Beardsley, and in America it was best known through the glass of Tiffany.<sup>49</sup> The line upon which it is based is derived from plant and animal motives, and it is essentially a decorative style in that it thinks in terms of the organization of a two-dimensional unit—that is perhaps why it found one of its most typical and popular expressions in the poster. Here we wish to do no more than point out Seurat's increasing affinity with this other aspect of the most progressive current of the art of his time. Would Seurat's connection have continued to grow? One of *art nouveau's* most important and creative figures, Henry van de Velde, was for a brief time among his disciples. He carried on the direction of Seurat's work.

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47. Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 26. "Of the seven great Seurats, this [the *Parade*] is the most geometric in design as well as the most mysterious in sentiment."

48. Rey, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.

49. On *art nouveau* cf. Ernst Michalski, "Die entwicklungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Jugendstils," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVI, 1925, pp. 133-49; and Fritz Schmalenbach, *Jugendstil*, Würzburg (Thesis), 1935.





Fig. 19—Seurat, Design for a Book Jacket, 1887

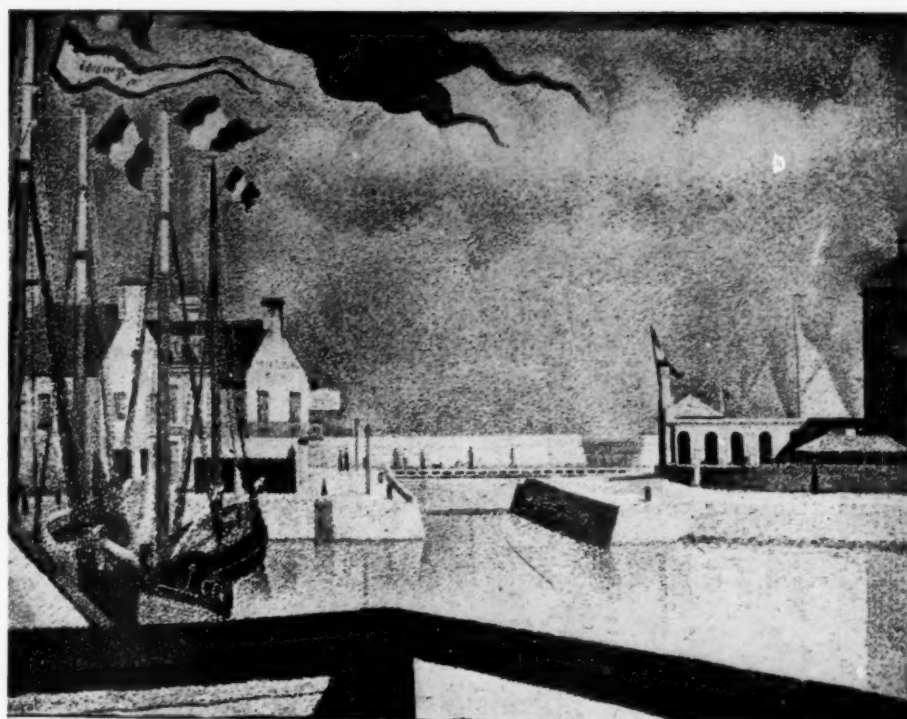


Fig. 20—Seurat, Port-en-Bessin, un Dimanche, 1888



Fig. 21—Grasset, Poster for an Exhibition of His Own Work



Fig. 22—Chicago, Art Institute: Gauguin, The Day of the God, 1894



Fig. 1—Paris, Sorbonne Library: Mansart (?), Side Elevation of Monument of Louis XIV, Dijon



Fig. 2—Lyon, Municipal Archives: Side Elevation of Monument of Louis XIV, Lyon



Fig. 3—Lyon, Municipal Archives: Clément Gendre, Side Elevation of Monument of Louis XIII



Fig. 4—Engraving by J. and B. Audran: Monument of Louis XIV, Lyon

# THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF LOUIS XIV IN DIJON AND RELATED MONUMENTS

By S. A. CALLISEN

... Et à ériger des monuments à sa gloire, qui l'élevoient non seulement au-dessus des héros de la race ou de ceux des autres peuples, mais bien au delà de la portée et de bornes de la condition mortelle.

Baron von Spanheim.<sup>1</sup>

**D**URING the years 1685-86 the larger French cities displayed an unexpected and astonishingly unanimous desire to honor Louis XIV by erecting his statue in their principal squares. Le Havre,<sup>2</sup> Caen,<sup>3</sup> and Poitiers<sup>4</sup> decided upon standing figures of the King, and even in far away Quebec<sup>5</sup> the sovereign's bust was set up. But Grenoble,<sup>6</sup> Rennes,<sup>7</sup> Aix,<sup>8</sup> Montpellier,<sup>9</sup> Lyon,<sup>10</sup> and Dijon<sup>11</sup> were more ambitious, and desired bronze equestrian statues. Thus it appeared as if a surge of popular enthusiasm had suddenly swept over France, and that all its citizens were more than ever delighted with their ruler. Actually there was much grumbling throughout the realm, for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was threatening, and the increasing taxes began to press heavily upon the provinces. Louis, securely insulated against the truth by those who surrounded him, never realized that he was being victimized by an intriguing courtier who, to further his own ends, played upon the King's vanity by engendering a fictitious wave of popularity.

On September 2, 1683, after almost twenty years of devoted service as Surintendant des Bâtiments du Roi,<sup>12</sup> Colbert died, and was presently succeeded by his arch-enemy, Louvois.<sup>13</sup> Colbert had opposed as much as possible the fantastic and unproductive projects favored by Louis XIV,<sup>14</sup> and tried to improve the condition of France by fostering commerce, building roads and canals, and encouraging industry, policies which if carried out unhindered would have been Louis' most enduring monument. But even the canny, practical Colbert had felt that a statue which preserved the actual appearance of an individual enhanced the person's fame. "Comme ce travail peut contribuer à la gloire du Roy . . ." <sup>15</sup> he wrote in 1672 to D'Estrées, Bishop of Laon, regarding the equestrian statue of the King then being carved by Bernini. The Royal Academy, of course, felt that pictures and statues rather than buildings could most truly mirror the glory of the King. As Guillet de Saint-Georges wrote in 1682 " . . . et qu'il croit avec justice les talents du ciseau et du

1. Baron von Spanheim was the ambassador of the Elector of Brandenburg at the court of Louis XIV. See Émile Bourgeois, ed., *Ézéchiel Spanheim: Relations de la cour de France en 1690*, Paris, 1900, p. 94. I wish to thank Messrs. S. Friedberg, H. Halvorson, L. Opdycke, C. Niver, and E. C. Rae for valuable advice and assistance.

2. A. de Boislisle, "Notices historiques sur la Place des Victoires et sur la Place Vendôme," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, xv, 1888, 211-12. Erected in the Place d'Armes.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 212-14. Statue by Jean Postel; pedestal by J. H. Mansart; erected 1685.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-37. By Girouard; erected in the Place Royale, 1687.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 245-46. Erected in 1686.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-15. Not carried out.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-23. By Antoine Coysevox under the

direction of J. H. Mansart. Planned for Nantes, but erected in the Place du Palais, Rennes, 1726.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-26. Ordered in 1685 from Desjardins; not executed.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-29. By Mazeline and Hurtrelle; erected 1718.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-32. By Desjardins under the direction of J. H. Mansart; erected in the Place Bellecour, 1713.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-35.

12. Alfred Neymarck, *Colbert et son temps*, Paris, 1877, II, 452. He had been made Surintendant on January 1, 1664.

13. Pierre Clément, *Histoire de Colbert et son administration*, Paris, 1874, II, 433-46.

14. *Ibid.*, II, 205.

15. Pierre Clément, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert*, Paris, 1868, v, 320. The letter is dated January 15.



pinceau plus propres que les autres à publier dignement les grandes actions d'un héros."<sup>16</sup> Le Brun, Colbert's closest satellite, had been directing the building of a huge fountain near the Louvre. It was to consist of a marble mountain over one hundred feet high with figures of chained slaves and eight river-gods who poured forth streams of water. On the summit was to be an equestrian statue of Louis XIV trampling the figures of Rebellion and Heresy.<sup>17</sup> Louvois, as opposed to Colbert, had no objections to wasteful display, but he nevertheless spitefully ordered the work abandoned, even though such an action might hurt his standing at court. For the fountain had been approved by the King, and Louis would certainly expect some other monument to his glory to be erected. Furthermore, Louvois found a dangerous rival in François d'Aubusson, Duc de la Feuillade, who at his own expense was building the Place des Victoires as a fitting site for the statue of Louis XIV which the Duke had ordered of Desjardins. In 1685, square and statue had still to be dedicated, but it was already known that the Duke planned to keep four great flambeaux burning like votive candles about the King's likeness. Louvois clearly foresaw that this adulation would increase the popularity of the Duc de la Feuillade with the King, and at once set about a plan to further his own career. Louvois' scheme, to be most effective, must flatter the King's ego, compensate for the destroyed fountain, outdo the Duc de la Feuillade, and still not benefit Paris, which city Louis hated ever since the days of the Fronde. All of these conditions would be met if Louvois could present to Louis the demands for His Majesty's statue, made simultaneously and apparently spontaneously by all the important cities of the realm. Hence in June or July 1685 the Intendants of the various provinces received strong hints, if not actual orders, to make such requests, and Pontchartrain, president of the Parlement of Brittany, wrote on August 5: "Outre l'autorité de M. de la Feuillade, qu'on nous a cité mille et mille fois comme un auteur grave et souverain en cette matière on nous cité quantité d'intendants qui, suivant une instruction générale pour tous les intendants du royaume, avoient déjà fait élever de pareilles statues dans quelques provinces . . ."<sup>18</sup>

The statues thus called forth were to prove an expensive luxury, for although the King sometimes paid for the casting of the bronze figures in Balthasar Keller's foundry, the cities bore the tremendous cost of the transportation and of the pedestals.<sup>19</sup>

The Estates of Burgundy were somewhat tardy in asking for an equestrian statue of the King to be erected in Dijon, for not until May 8, 1686, did the Abbé Langeron-Maulévrier present their petition in a well-received speech.<sup>20</sup> The delay was due in part to the time consumed in enlarging the square in front of the Palais des États (or Palais Ducal). The King had authorized the city to buy the necessary land on May 3, 1681, but the actual construction of the present hemicycle of rusticated arcades was not initiated until 1686, and was finished only in 1692, when the name was changed from Place Saint-Barthélemy to Place Royale.<sup>21</sup> On May 18, 1686, a contract was signed with the sculptor Étienne le Hongre for the statue which was to be of bronze: the King 12 feet high; the horse 13 feet long; the price 90,000 livres; J. H. Mansart was to supervise and pass on the work which was to be completed by December 31, 1690. Le Hongre died on April 27, 1690, but the

16. L. Dussieux, *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, Paris, 1887, II, 85.

17. L. Dussieux, *op. cit.*, I, 60; R. Josephson, "Le monument du triomphe pour le Louvre," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, LIII, 1928, 21-34.

18. A. de Boislisle, *Correspondance des contrôleurs généraux des finances avec les intendants des provinces*, Paris, 1874, I, 52.

19. Boislisle, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 1888, xv, 210, 237-38.

20. *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau*, Paris, 1854, I, 331-32.

21. A. Cornereau, "La statue de Louis XIV à Dijon," *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 1912, 1-11. He has published much of the following information concerning the erection of the statue, but his statements cannot always be checked even in the local archives at Dijon.

model of the statue had been finished previous to his death, for it was cast sometime during the next two years. In May, 1692, the completed work was moved from his studio to the banks of the Seine, and eventually transported by boat to Auxerre. Once on land, however, the vast weight of the monument, 19½ tons (18,000 kgms.) for the horse and 8½ tons (8,000 kgms.) for the rider,<sup>22</sup> caused unforeseen difficulties, and it came to rest in a barn in the hamlet of La Brosse, four and a quarter miles along the road to Dijon. There it remained for years until its non-appearance in the capital became a standing joke, and was taken as the subject of a satirical poem. Finally in 1720 Pierre Morin, engineer and inspector of bridges for Burgundy and Bresse, brought the statue to Dijon packed on two huge drays drawn by thirty yoke of oxen. The wagons arrived on September 19 and 21 respectively, but in order for them to reach the Place Royale it was necessary to tear down the Porte Guillaume, and widen the Rue Condé by demolishing some of the house façades in the region of the Coin du Miroir. No provision had been made for the pedestal, and the statue was stored in a court of the Palais des États until 1725 when it was erected, on a temporary base, in the center of the Place Royale, but it was only in 1748, sixty-two years after the inception of the monument, that all the work was completed.<sup>23</sup>

It has been noted that Jules Hardouin Mansart was to supervise and pass upon the work of Le Hongre prior to its acceptance by the Burgundian Estates. Mansart had been active in the King's service since 1672, and belonging to the Louvois faction was ennobled in 1683 and made Premier Architecte du Roi in 1685. Since he stood in high favor at court, and had acquitted himself well in the construction of the Place des Victoires, it is quite understandable that he should have been put in charge of the work at Dijon and similar projects at Caen, Nantes (Rennes), and Lyon. But already in 1682 he had furnished plans for the rebuilding of the Palais des États, and was general supervisor of the work carried on there by Gétard and De Noinville.<sup>24</sup> The drawings of the plan of the pedestal, and the front and side elevations of the pedestal and statue (Fig. 1) now in the library of the Sorbonne,<sup>25</sup> are from Mansart's shop, but are not by Mansart himself, although labeled and signed by his own hand.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, their execution is so very weak that they merit no discussion save for the light that they throw on early designs for the base of the monument. It was not alone motives of economy which caused Mansart, in the case of the Dijon monument, to substitute trophies of arms for bound captives such as had been designed for the pedestal of the statue at Lyon (Fig. 2). Chained slaves, inspired in turn by those on the base of the statue of Henry IV on the Pont Neuf, had been placed at the corners of the

22. C. X. Girault, *Essais historiques et biographiques sur Dijon*, Dijon, 1814, p. 342.

23. Henri Chabeuf, "Documents inédits sur le Logis du Roi et le Palais des États," *Mémoires de la commission des antiquités du département de la Côte-d'Or*, XIII, 1895-1900, 76; Chabeuf says that the statue was cast by Keller and erected in 1726. Expilly, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et politique des Gaules et de la France*, Amsterdam, 1764, II, 644; Expilly gives the date 1724. Pierre Patte, *Monuments érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV*, Paris, 1765, pp. 114-15; Patte states that the statue was placed on its pedestal by M. Brisse in 1725 and the inscriptions added in 1746. Cornereau, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9; Cornereau intimates that the statue was not set up until 1740 or 1741. Charles Maillard de Chambure, *Dijon ancien et moderne*, Dijon, 1840, p. 148; Chambure, the most reliable author, states that the statue was erected March 26-27, 1725 on a pedestal of Is-sur-Tille stone. The marble revetment was added later by a Sig. Antoine Spignola. There is a parallel here to the statue of Louis XIV in the Place Vendôme which

was erected on August 13, 1699, although the pedestal did not receive its final marble revetment until January 2, 1704. See Boislisle, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, 1888, xv, 151, 153. The method of erection was probably similar to that used at Lyon; see Émile Bourgeois (trans. C. Hoey), *The Century of Louis XIV*, London, 1895, p. 317.

24. A. Cornereau, "Le Palais des États de Bourgogne à Dijon," *Mémoires de la société bourguignonne de géographie et d'histoire*, VI, 1890, 244-45.

25. Catalogued R, IV, 15, no. 10 gr., folios 25-27. I hope to publish fully these and other drawings of the set which are mentioned by Henri Chabeuf, *op. cit.*, and which have been photographed through the kindness of Dr. Bernard Lemann.

26. One may compare the writing with a portion of a letter published in facsimile by Pierre de Nolhac, "Le Versailles de Mansart," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 3<sup>e</sup> pér., xxvii, 1902, 11.

pedestal of the statue of Louis XIV in the Place des Victoires. But hardly had the latter been unveiled before they occasioned violent protests on the part of Sweden, and according to Sir William Trumbull caused Lobkowitz to object to M. de Croissy: "That ye Emper<sup>r</sup> was not in ye Condition of a Slave with his Hands tyd in Chaines, otherwise than in ye Fancy of Mons<sup>r</sup> de la Feuillade."<sup>27</sup> Indeed, this monument was one of the excuses given in 1687 for the formation of the League of Augsburg which was directed against France,<sup>28</sup> and hence all figures likely to cause offense to other countries were omitted from the base of the equestrian statue of Louis XIV set up in the Place Vendôme in 1699.<sup>29</sup> Apparently when a final model for the Dijon pedestal was made under J. J. Gabriel's supervision in 1731<sup>30</sup> the Mansart plans were adhered to, and the cost of the bronze enrichments—lions' masks, arms, standards, etc.—were estimated at 17,600 livres. In the end the city, weary of the useless outlay, eliminated the bronze work, but even the payments for the marble revetment appear to have been outrageously large.<sup>31</sup> As far as can be judged from the brief contemporary descriptions, and the drawings by J. B. Lallemand now in the Dijon Museum (Fig. 9),<sup>32</sup> the pedestal was exceedingly plain, and only the corners were relieved by volutes much like those on the base of the statue at Lyon, as finally erected in 1713 (Fig. 4).<sup>33</sup>

Le Hongre represented Louis XIV seated astride his horse on a pad without saddle or stirrups. His left hand was advanced to the neck of his steed, his right clutched a baton of command. He was clothed *à la romaine* with bare arms and legs, and a cloak over his shoulder. On his head was a great full-bottomed wig, the most characteristic yet incongruous feature of the whole group of royal effigies, but one which hardly a single Frenchman criticized, so long as the government remained completely autocratic and bureaucratic, and the aesthetic standards of the nation were set by the Royal Academy. The Academicians, in turn, tried to form their art upon what they conceived to be the best monuments of antiquity: actually the remains of late Hellenistic art visible in Italy. They frequently recommended the study of measured drawings and casts of classical sculpture,<sup>34</sup> but they firmly believed that no truly competent artist could form his style save by observing the ancient prototypes *in situ*, and they lamented that Desjardins because of an early marriage found it impossible to study in Rome.<sup>35</sup> In their eyes antique art was the only perfect model: "Il n'y eut personne qui ne convînt que c'est sur ce modèle qu'on peut apprendre à corriger même les défauts qui se trouvent d'ordinaire dans la naturel . . ." <sup>36</sup> Despite this archaeological enthusiasm the artists were of necessity obliged to approach antiquity largely through literary sources, and the results made themselves manifest in the subject matter chosen by painters and sculptors alike.<sup>37</sup> The representations of current events were forced

27. Ruth Clark, *Sir William Trumbull in Paris 1685-1686*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 104, 108.

28. E. Steinmann, "Die Zerstörung der Königsdenkmäler in Paris," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, x, 1917, 348-49.

29. Boislisle, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

30. Cornereau, *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 1912, 9. L. Jarrot, ed., "Événements à Dijon quelques années avant la révolution, et depuis l'an 1788 jusqu'à l'année 1800 inclusivement," *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 1912, 78-79. The anonymous author says without justification that the final designs for the pedestal were by Boffrand.

31. They totaled about 11,000 to 15,000 livres.

32. Reproduced by Cornereau, *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 1912, opp. p. 2.

33. Reproduced by Léon Galle, "Projet d'une statue équestre du Roi à Lyon. Premier projet de la statue de Louis XIV élevée dans la même ville en 1713," *Réunion des sociétés des beaux-arts des départements*, xxvii, 1903, pl. xxvi.

34. Sebastian Bourdon, "L'étude de l'antique," published by Henri Jouin, *Conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, Paris, 1883, pp. 139-40; see also pp. 168-69. After Bourdon's death, this discourse was repeated by Guillet de Saint-Georges on March 3, 1696. See A. de Montaignon, ed., "Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, 1646-1793," *Société de l'histoire de l'art française*, Paris, 1880, III, 183. On May 15, 1703, Monier gave a discourse, "Entretien sur la nécessité de l'étude des belles antiques"; see *ibid.*, pp. 365-66. In 1651 Michel Anguier brought back casts of Hercules, Flora, the Laocoön, etc., to be used in the Royal Academy; see Dussieux, *Mémoires inédits . . . de l'Académie*, I, 437.

35. *Ibid.*, I, 388.

36. Jouin, *Conférences*, p. 21. The quotation is taken from a discussion of the Laocoön by Géraud van Opstal at a conference.

37. Dussieux, *op. cit.*, I, 52-53. Guillet de Saint-Georges in discussing Le Brun's painting in the Galerie des Glaces



into antique moulds, and came out replete with the most complicated mythological and allegorical allusions. In portraying Louis XIV the artists gave full reign to their classical-literary zeal, and the King appears under the guise of Alexander,<sup>38</sup> Mars, Hercules,<sup>39</sup> Apollo or even the sun itself.<sup>40</sup> But the artists' approach was literal as well as literary. Thus Le Brun criticized Poussin's *Rebecca at the Well* (Louvre, no. 704) because of the omission of the camels mentioned in Genesis 24.<sup>41</sup> The native French taste for exact representation in portraiture accorded with the artists' views and was further justified by Roman precedent: "... les Romains avoient attaché à la noblesse du sang une sorte d'obligation de conserver chez soi les portraits de ses ancêtres."<sup>42</sup> Hence the statues which portrayed Louis XIV as a Roman conqueror in a fashionable peruke fulfilled the avowed aims of the Academicians. The antique garb and pose, the allegorical representation, and the literal portraiture (could one conceive of Louis XIV without his wig?) all had their proper share in the final achievement. As early as 1698 an unregimented Englishman, Martin Lister, might write of Girardon's equestrian statue of Louis XIV for the Place Vendôme: "The King is in the Habit of a Roman Emperor, without Stirrups or Saddle, and on his Head a French large Periwig *À-la-mode*. Whence this great Liberty of Sculpture arises, I am much to seek.

"'Tis true, that in a building precisely to follow the ancient manner and simplicity is very commendable, because all those Orders were founded upon good Principles in Mathematicks: but the Cloathing of an Emperor was no more, than the weak fancy of the People. For *Louis le Grand* to be thus dressed up at the head of his Army now a-days would be very Comical. What need other Emblems, when Truth may be had; as though the perfect Age need be ashamed of their Modes, or that the *Statua Equestris* of Henry the Fourth or *Louis* the Thirteenth were the less to be valued for being done in the true Dress of their times."<sup>43</sup>

But most good Frenchmen of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century would no doubt have agreed with Germain Brice who wrote of the monument in the Place Vendôme: "Le Roi est représenté dans ce monument, en habit à l'antique, sans selle et sans étriers, tel qu'on peint ordinairement les héros de la superbe antiquité."<sup>44</sup>

In 1775 when archaeology was becoming a science and the Academy enfeebled, Charles de Lubersac in his *Discours sur les monuments publics*, dedicated to Louis XVI, criticized

says: "De plus les tableaux sont le plus souvent des idées que l'on s'est formées sur la lecture ou sur les récits."

38. Dussieux, *op. cit.*, I, 235.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 338-39.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

42. Antoine Coypel, "L'excellence de la peinture," published by Jouin, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

43. *A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698*, London, 1699, p. 27. The full-bottomed wig was introduced by the Abbé de la Rivière in 1630. Such wigs weighed 2½ lbs. and cost 50 to 80 livres; see L. Cicognara, *Storia della scultura*, Prato, 1824, VI, 275, note 1.

44. *Nouvelle description de la ville de Paris et de tout ce qu'elle contient de plus remarquable*, Paris, 1725, I, 314. Lister's sentiments are echoed by only one contemporary Frenchman, Michel de Marolles, Abbé de Villeloin:

C'est de Charles le Brun que l'on voit d'Alexandre  
Les tableaux inventez dans le grand goust du Roy,  
Pour marquer de son cœur le belliqueux employ.  
Où quelqu'autre que luy oseroit-il prétendre?

Le cavalier Bernin le peint tout de mesme,  
Avec cet air si haut qui veut estre adoré;

L'ouvrage de Varin y seroit comparé,  
Tant son bust glorieux est fier sans diadème.

Le Brun, Bernin, Varin, l'habillent à l'antique;  
Mignard l'habille ainsi, quand il est à cheval,  
Les bras nuds et les pieds presque nuds bien en mal,  
Sans étriers encore, ce qu'on tient héroïque.

Je ne t'entens pas bien, n'aimant que trop l'histoire.  
Pour depeindre au public le prince tel qu'il est,  
Faut-il estre menteur, sans y prendre interest?  
Quel tort la verité, feroit-elle à sa gloire?

Couronner donc son front d'un brin d'herbe est-il juste  
Parce qu'un Empereur en eut son front orné  
Dans la mode d'un temps où tout fut si borné?  
On en fit cependant un autre pour Auguste.

See Michel de Marolles, *Le liore des peintres et graveurs*, new edition, G. Duplessis, ed., Paris, 1855, pp. 28-29. The *Livre* was written in the 1670's; see *ibid.*, p. 81, note. Michel de Marolles died in 1681. La Bruyère's statement made in a discourse delivered before the Académie Française, June 15, 1693: "... ce prince humain et bienfaisant, que les peintres et les statuaires nous défigurent, ..." is a criticism leveled at artists because they represented the peace-loving (*sic*) Louis as a warrior, and not because of any incongruity of costume. See La Bruyère, *Les caractères*

the same statue: "La statue équestre qu'est placée au centre, a quelques beautés; mais on ne conçoit point le mauvais goût des Artistes qui ont coiffé d'une énorme perruque un roi vêtu à la romaine; perruque que les mouvemens d'un cheval, dont l'action doit être animée et relevée, ne peuvent que déranger à tous momens, et par conséquent embarrasser le Cavalier."<sup>45</sup>

As nearly as one can tell from the study of engravings and drawings, Le Hongre's horse at Dijon resembled in general that of Desjardin at Lyon and both were similar to Girardon's for the Place Vendôme. In Desjardin's contract it is stated that: "... l'attitude duquel cheval sera marchant le plus gravement qu'il sera possible avec la jambe droite élevée..."<sup>46</sup> If one adds to the pictorial<sup>47</sup> and documentary evidence that afforded by a number of small models or statuettes in various museums (Fig. 7),<sup>48</sup> one gains the impression that whereas the sculptors represented the horses at a slow walk, motion forward was not implied. The alternate legs on which the steed rests are conceived as columns carrying the rider's weight directly to the base, and the raised forefoot and sweeping tail give the composition a closed outline, so that none of the elements predicate movement forward.

The prototype for the horse is to be found in the statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome (Fig. 5), a monument which interested the French artists from an early period.<sup>49</sup> Francis I caused Primaticcio to bring back a mould of the horse of Marcus Aurelius,<sup>50</sup> and "Jean le Roux, dit Picart, imager," was paid for "commencement de l'assemblable du mousle du grand cheval, aussy puis naguères apporté de Rome," and later "pour avoir vacqué à jetter en plâtre la figure d'un grand cheval sur les mousles qui sont aussy de plâtre qui ont esté apportez de Rome audit Fontainebleau."<sup>51</sup> The horse was set up at Fontainebleau in one of the courtyards which in consequence received the name of the Cour de Cheval Blanc, but because of the frail material in which the figure was cast it became shabby, and was removed in 1626.<sup>52</sup> A sixteenth-century enamel (Fig. 8) depicts Henry II clothed in a Roman toga (with just a suspicion of a lace collar), together with Diane de Poitiers, riding a horse

accompagnés des caractères de théophraste et du discours à l'Académie Française, Paris, 1913, p. 638. The King appeared as a Roman emperor at the tournament of 1662, but wore a helmet as well as a wig; see Émile Bourgeois, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

45. *Discours sur les monumens publics de tous les âges et de tous les peuples connus*, Paris, 1775, appendix, p. IV.

46. Galle, *Réunion des sociétés des beaux-arts des départemens*, xxvii, 1903, 448. The contract was drawn up May 20, 1688. In the engraving the position of the forelegs has been reversed.

47. Statue at Lyon engraved by B. and J. Audran, reproduced by Ragnar Josephson, "Martin Desjardins et ses monumens de Louis XIV," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, LIII, 1928, 173, fig. 3, statue at Beauvais engraved by Chevallier, reproduced by Peter Jessen, *Das Barock im Ornamentstich*, Berlin, n. d., II, 198; statue at Rennes engraved by S. Thomassin, reproduced by H. Friis, *Rytterstatuens Historie i Europa*, Copenhagen, 1933, fig. 184.

48. In the Louvre, no. 1320 and replica in the Detroit Institute of Arts; Munich, no. 3972; Versailles, no. 2194; Copenhagen; Stockholm; also M. E. Sommier collection, Paris, published by Pierre Francastel, *Girardon*, Paris, 1928, p. 81, pl. xxxvi, fig. 48.

49. Steinmann (*Monatshfte für Kunstwissenschaft*, x, 1917, 338-43) felt that the horse for the statue of Henry IV on the Pont Neuf and that for Louis XIII in the Place Royale, Paris, being of Italian origin were more naturalistic than classical in feeling. The horse for the Louis XIII monument was ordered from Michelangelo in 1559; cast by Daniello Riccarelli in 1566; arrived in Paris about 1623;

and was erected in 1639. Two sixteenth-century Italian writers state that the horse by Daniello imitated the steed of Marcus Aurelius, thus contradicting Steinmann. See Lomazzo, *Trattato della pittura*, Milan, 1585, p. 632, and Andrea Fulvio, *L'antichità di Roma*, Venice, 1588, pp. 220-21; quoted by A. de Montaiglon, *Notice sur l'ancienne statue équestre ouvrage de Daniello Riccarelli et de Biard le fils*, Paris, 1874, pp. 19-23. The place with a statue in the center appears to have derived from Michelangelo's plan for the Campidoglio; see Ilse Dahl, *Das barocke Reitermonument*, Düsseldorf, 1935, p. 65. For the influence of the statue of Marcus Aurelius on medieval art see Jean Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français*, London, 1939, pp. 208-16. The *Regisole* of Pavia survived until May 16, 1796, when it was destroyed during an uprising. It must have been well known in France, but for some reason was not imitated. The rider at Pavia had a saddle, stirrups, and spurs which do not appear on any French equestrian statue in which the horseman is represented à la romaine; see R. Maiocchi, "Un vessillo di Pavia del secolo XVI e la statua del Regisole," *Bollettino storico pavese*, II, 1894, 218-49.

50. L. Dimier, *Le Primatice: peintre, sculpteur et architecte des Rois de France*, Paris, 1900, p. 328. The rider is not mentioned. Primaticcio's trip to Rome took place in 1540 or 1543.

51. Léon de Laborde, *Les comptes des bâtimens du Roi, 1528-1571*, Paris, 1877, I, 193. The payments were made between 1540 and 1550.

52. Pierre Dan, *Le trésor des merveilles de la maison royale de Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1642, p. 31.



Fig. 5—Rome, Campidoglio: Statue of Marcus Aurelius



Fig. 6—Codex Marcianus: Statue of Marcus Aurelius



Fig. 7—Versailles: Girardon (?), Zinc Study for Statue of Louis XIV for Château de Boufflers (Musée, no. 2194)



Fig. 8—Paris, Lenoir Collection (formerly): Enamel, Henry II and Diane de Poitiers (From an Engraving)





Fig. 9—Dijon, Museum: J. B. Lallemand, Place Royale, Dijon



Fig. 10—Rome, Vatican, Scala Regia: Bernini, Emperor Constantine



Fig. 11—Versailles, Gardens: Bernini, Statue of Louis XIV, Recut by Girardon as Marcus Curtius



Fig. 12—Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins: Le Brun, Louis XIV, Study for Louvre Fountain



Fig. 13—Rome, Borghese Gallery: Bernini, Terra Cotta Model for Statue of Louis XIV

copied from the Fontainebleau cast.<sup>53</sup> To this we may add the relief dating about 1604-1606 of Henry IV by Pierre Biard the Elder,<sup>54</sup> "qui a voulu imiter le cheval de Marc-Aurèle, du Capitole à Rome."<sup>55</sup> Inspiration from another source accounts for the peculiar design by Clément Gendre for an equestrian statue of Louis XIII (or Henry IV) which the city of Lyon planned to erect in 1627 (Fig. 3), but never carried out. Galle<sup>56</sup> recognized that the horse of Marcus Aurelius was the prototype adapted by Gendre but was at a loss to account for the lions upholding the base. It seems probable, however, that Gendre was relying on some ancient drawing like that in the Codex Marcanova<sup>57</sup> in which the monument of Marcus Aurelius is shown supported in a similar fashion (Fig. 6) previous to various repairs made about 1474.<sup>58</sup>

During the last half of the seventeenth century a renewed interest in the statue of Marcus Aurelius was evinced. On January 8, 1669, the French ambassador to Rome, Abbé Louis d'Anglur de Bourlemont, wrote to Colbert: "... j'ay vu M. Errard pour sçavoir quand il trouveroit à propos que je demandasse les permissions pour mouler les statues de Montécaval et celles de Marc-Aurèle du Campidole..."<sup>59</sup> On June 13, 1685, eighteen cases containing the moulds of the statue of Marcus Aurelius were dispatched to France,<sup>60</sup> where the figure was cast and set up in a courtyard of the Louvre as Charles Perrault, writing towards the close of the seventeenth century, recorded. In the second *Dialogue* of his *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes* he has the Abbé say: "Quand il falloit aller à Rome pour voir le Marc-Aurèle, rien n'étoit égal à cette fameuse figure équestre, & on ne pouvoit trop envier le bonheur de ceux qui l'avoient veuë. Aujourd'huy que nous l'avons à Paris, il n'est pas croyable combien on la néglige, quoiqu'elle soit moulée très-exactement, & que dans une des Cours du Palais Royal où on l'a placée, elle ait la mesme beauté & la mesme grace que l'Original."<sup>61</sup> It is not known how soon the Louvre cast disintegrated, but by 1735 when Falconet entered J. B. le Moyne's studio no trace of it remained.<sup>62</sup> A second cast from the moulds later sent to Paris was set up on the ground floor of the Palais Mancini, seat of the French Academy in Rome, where it remained until destroyed during the disorders of January 13-14, 1793. Chaptal wrote to Talleyrand on June 3, 1801: "Au reste, je dois vous prévenir que la perte des plâtres de la statue équestre de Marc-Aurèle... est

53. Steinmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 52, fig. 9.

54. Paul Vitry, "Documents inédits sur Pierre Biard, architecte et sculpteur de connétable de Montmorency," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 3<sup>e</sup> pér., xxi, 1899, 337.

55. G. Brice, *op. cit.*, II, 124.

56. *Réunion des sociétés des beaux-arts des départements*, xxvii, 1903, 444-47; pl. xxiii.

57. A. Apolloni, "Vicende e restauri della statua equestre di Marco Aurelio," *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di S. Luca*, II, 1912, 6, fig. 2.

58. The sketch by Martin van Heemskerck dated 1536 depicts the lions standing before the statue proper; see *ibid.*, pp. 5, 10; fig. 3. The statue was moved to the Campidoglio March 23, 1538.

59. Anatole de Montaiglon, *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments*, Paris, 1887, I, 17, no. 31.

60. A. Bertolotti, *Artisti francesi in Roma*, Rome, 1886, p. 182. There is mention in 1684 of "la statue équestre de Marc-Aurèle en morceaux séparées," according to Montaiglon, *op. cit.*, VI, 442, no. 2719.

61. Charles Perrault, *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes, en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences*, Paris, 1690, I, 185-86. In the *Dialogue* the Abbé goes on to point out the weak points of the statue and the Chevalier continues: "La première fois que je vis cette figure, je crus que l'Empereur

Marc-Aurèle montoit une jument poulinière..." Perrault does not find fault with contemporary equestrian figures (*op. cit.*, p. 55): "La Sculpture s'est encore perfectionnée depuis (Colbert's dismissal), mais peu considérablement, parce qu'elle estoit déjà arrivée à peu où elle peut aller." E. M. Falconet ("Observations sur la statue de Marc-Aurèle," *Œuvres*, Lausanne, 1781, I, 157-348), objected to the statue on the grounds of its being unnaturalistic, and attacked Winckelmann who, he believed, praised it simply because of its antiquity. Winckelmann actually wrote: "Wenn wir das Ganze betrachten, so scheint es uns von Seite der Anordnung nicht zu den groszen Meisterstücken zu gehören. Aber das Pferd ist trefflich gerathen, hat überaus viel Geist, Leben und Handlung, und scheint sich mit seinem Reiter gleichsam von der Stelle zu bewegen." See his *Werke*, Buch 12, Kap. 2, An. 1397.

62. Falconet wrote (*op. cit.*, I, 272): "On disoit: c'est le cheval de Marc-Aurèle qui lui (Le Moyne) a fait faire celui de Louis XV (set up in Bordeaux, 1743). Mr. Le Moyne qui n'a pas plus vu que moi l'Italie, connoissoit le cheval du capitole par les oui-dire et par des desseins de la fidélité desquels il ne pouvoit pas être jugé." For the date of Falconet's entry into Le Moyne's studio see E. Hildebrandt, *Leben, Werken und Schriften des Bildhauers E. M. Falconet*, Strasbourg, 1908, p. 8, note.

irrécupérable . . ."<sup>63</sup> By now the pendulum had swung back, and in a neoclassic age the ancient remains of Rome took on new value and interest.

No large equestrian statue of Louis XIV seated upon a rearing horse was completed by a French sculptor, although Desjardins made a model of one for Aix,<sup>64</sup> and Le Brun had sketched another for the summit of the great marble fountain planned for Paris.<sup>65</sup> Bernini, despite the jealous cabal opposed to him at the French court, was commissioned to carve a figure of Louis XIV on a rearing horse.<sup>66</sup> But even before the monument left his studio in Rome, Frenchmen objected to it because the King appeared to be dispensing favors rather than leading an army.<sup>67</sup> With more justification it was attacked because it resembled too closely Bernini's equestrian statue of the Emperor Constantine<sup>68</sup> which was placed on a landing of the Scala Regia in the Vatican (Fig. 10), and hence could be seen from one side only, whereas the statue of Louis XIV was to be free-standing. When the statue finally reached France in March, 1685, it was even more severely criticized. Melani wrote to Modena on March 21, 1685: "La statua del Re fatta dal Cav. Bernino, è stata trovata così mal fatta e meschina, che non sarà più collocata in Parigi, ma a Versaglia."<sup>69</sup> At Versailles the statue was even less favorably received, for on November 14 of the same year Dangeau reported: ". . . il (Louis XIV) vit la statue équestre du chevalier Bernin qu'on y a placée, et trouva que l'homme et le cheval étoient si mal faits, qu'il résolut non seulement de l'ôter de là, mais même de la fair briser."<sup>70</sup> Instead of destroying it, however, Girardon was ordered to recut the head, and change the rock under the horse's belly into flames so that the figure would pass for Marcus Curtius (Fig. 11).<sup>71</sup>

Louis XIV was too much a part and parcel of his times to contravene the aesthetic principles of the Royal Academy, and therefore criticized the rider's head for its lack of portraiture, while as an ardent horseman he objected to the absence of realism in the steed. The *Mercure Galant* for February, 1687, reported the King's visit to Girardon's workshop to inspect the model of the monument for the Place Vendôme, and stated that: "S. M. parut très contente de la disposition et de ce qu'elle put voir des figures . . ." The King set his seal of approval upon the static type of horse as exemplified by the work of Girardon, but condemned the statue by Bernini, thereby banning the rearing and truly baroque equestrian statue from France. Indeed, the fully developed Italian baroque remained alien to the Frenchmen of the seventeenth century. Nowhere is this fact made more apparent than by the comparison of the rearing equestrian statue of Louis XIV (Fig. 12) as planned by Le Brun<sup>72</sup> who next to Puget was the most baroque French artist of his generation, and the terra-cotta sketch for the ill-fated monument by Bernini (Fig. 13).<sup>73</sup> Bernini's King, like

63. Montaignon, *op. cit.*, xvii, 304, no. 9863. See also xi, 226, no. 5291; xv, 336-37, no. 9003; 340, no. 9005; xvi, 225, no. 9374; 438, no. 9561. Falconet had certain parts of this cast sent to him when he was planning the equestrian statue of Peter the Great (*Œuvres*, I, 162): "Je les ai demandés; ils ont été moulés à Rome sur un beau plâtre de l'Académie, que la été lui, sur le bronze original."

64. Boislisle, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, xv, 1888, 223-25.

65. Josephson, *Revue de l'art*, LIII, 1928, 21-34.

66. S. Fraschetti, *Il Bernini: la sua vita, la sua opera, il suo tempo*, Milan, 1900, pp. 358-63; L. Mirot, "Le Bernin en France: les travaux du Louvre et les statues de Louis XIV," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, xxxi, 1904, pp. 276-88. The statue was ordered in 1669, but was still in Bernini's studio at the time of his death in 1680, and was largely shop work.

67. Fraschetti, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-21. This despite a letter written by

Bernini to Colbert towards the end of 1669 stating that: "Questa statua sarà del tutto diversa a quella di Constantino." See Mirot, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-80.

69. Fraschetti, *op. cit.*, p. 363, note 1.

70. *Journal*, I, 252.

71. Mirot, *op. cit.*, p. 287. The subject of Marcus Curtius leaping his horse into the flaming pit had been carved in bas-relief by Gilles Guerin about 1648, and had been painted by Claude Vignon; see Dussieux, *Mémoires inédits . . . de l'Académie*, I, 262, 277. Bernini's recut statue survives today at Versailles behind the Bassin des Suisses, but is now much weatherbeaten.

72. Cabinet des dessins, no. 6025-29435. Le Brun's drawings date about 1670, some three years after the inception of Bernini's statue. Le Brun's whole scheme obviously derives from, and attempts to surpass, Bernini.

73. A. E. Brinckmann, *Barock-Bozzetti italienischer Bildhauer*, Frankfurt-a.-M., 1924, II, 62-71.



Le Brun's, is dressed *à la romaine*, but his cloak swirls about him, his horsehair peruke has become an aureole of heavy curls, and his face is that of a young demi-god. The fore- and hind-legs of Bernini's horse form lines that curve towards each other, the mane and tail whip out in heavy locks so that a feeling of inner tension is created as in a coiled spring. Horse and rider seem inherent with life, in constant and violent motion, ready to leap into space. They derive from reality, but transcend it to become vital entities in themselves. Le Brun could not break away from his classical-realistic theories. His horse rears, but there is no expressiveness in the position of its legs, and the figure of the rider is in no wise integrated so as to form a significant group. One feels certain that Le Brun's horse will never move, but at best simply bob up and down at the touch of a finger like the small statue made by Gobert in 1685 for the Duc de Richelieu's Château at Rueil.<sup>74</sup>

In view of the French taste in equestrian statues the Burgundian Estates chose quite wisely when they selected Étienne le Hongre to execute the monument at Dijon. He had proved himself a capable craftsman in wood, stucco, marble, and bronze,<sup>75</sup> and had had some experience with equestrian monuments, for he cast the plaster figure of Louis XIV which was placed on the horse brought from Nancy in 1671 by the King's victorious armies, and placed in the courtyard of the Hotel Brion, seat of the Royal Academy.<sup>76</sup> During the years 1653-59 he studied at Rome from whence he "prit le bon goût de l'antique . . ." <sup>77</sup> Not unnaturally his only surviving metalwork, the nymph of the Parterre d'Eau at Versailles,<sup>78</sup> which was cast at the same time as the Dijon statue, shows him to have been a competent if unexciting sculptor strongly tinged by his study of classical art.

In 1725, when the statue at Dijon had finally been erected, the magistrates and the people under arms made a triple tour of the Place Royale.<sup>79</sup> The procession was patterned after the earlier one marking the dedication of the monument in the Place des Victoires,<sup>80</sup> which in turn had been copied with antiquarian zeal from the Roman ceremony of the Decursio.<sup>81</sup>

The inscriptions composed for the base of the Dijon monument in the 1680's<sup>82</sup> differed greatly from those ultimately adopted in 1747. In the earlier version Louis XIV is fulsomely praised for his many virtues, triumph over heresy, and military conquests. The later version emphasizes the difficulties involved in transporting the statue, names various local dignitaries of no importance, eulogizes Louis XV and mentions Louis XIV quite briefly.<sup>83</sup> After all popular enthusiasm, even if genuine, could hardly remain at fever pitch over a period of more than fifty years.

But a far greater change of popular sentiment was still to make itself manifest. In the mid-eighteenth century, despite an openly expressed dislike for Louis XIV after his death,

74. Boislisle, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, xv, 1888, 250. Louis XIV, *à la romaine*, and bestriding a rearing horse, is represented in a statuette in Versailles (Alinari 25597) which is copied from a painting by Le Brun of the same subject save that Louis is in court dress. Another similar statuette is in Versailles (no. 2172), and a third in the Dijon Municipal Museum (Braun, 32355). See P. Francastel, *Girardon*, p. 78.

75. Dussieux, *Mémoires inédits . . . de l'Académie*, pp. 363-82. "... il a toujours été très intelligent et très habile à faire de modèles fort étudiés sur toutes sortes de sujets . . ."; see p. 364. Le Hongre was born in Paris in 1628 and died there in 1690. He was a pupil of Jean Sarrazin.

76. Boislisle, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-18. A. Vitu, *La maison mortuaire de Molière*, Paris, 1880, app. pp. 140-41. Clé-

ment, *Lettres de Colbert*, v, 310, 525, 528-29. The horse was not used at Dijon, for the steed there was signed by Le Hongre on its raised right hoof; see Expilly, *Dictionnaire . . . de la France*, II, 644.

77. Dussieux, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

78. A. E. Brinckmann, *Barockskulptur, Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, 3rd ed., Potsdam, n. d., fig. 355.

79. Expilly, *op. cit.*, II, 644.

80. Boislisle, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

81. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1892, II, 41.

82. Unpublished. There are several versions in the Sorbonne library (see note 25, above), nos. 28-32.

83. Expilly, *op. cit.*, II, 644. Cornereau, *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 7-9, 11.

and the great expense<sup>84</sup> incurred during an increasingly bad economic situation, the Burgundians were pleased with the monument with which they honored their former King. The Parisians, on the other hand, revered the statue of a more popular monarch, Henry IV, almost as though it represented a local deity.<sup>85</sup> Then with the revolution came a slow but steadily mounting hysteria. On August 11, 1792, M. Sers rose in the National Assembly to announce that the people of Paris were tearing down the effigies of the French Kings, whereby the nation would suffer a great artistic loss if the work were not supervised by competent engineers or architects. M. Thuriot suggested that some of the statues be melted down for cannon and money. M. Albitte had the final word: "Il faut enfin déraciner tous les préjugés royaux. Je demande que l'Assemblée prouve au peuple qu'elle s'occupe de sa liberté, et que la statue de la liberté soit élevée sur les mêmes piédestaux." The motions of MM. Sers and Albitte were carried,<sup>86</sup> but destruction took precedence over preservation.

Two days later the spokesman for the citizens of the Pont Neuf region reported to the National Assembly that they had destroyed the equestrian statue of Henry IV and stated naively: "Les vertus de Henri nous ont arrêtés quelques temps, mais on s'est souvenu qu'il n'était pas roi constitutionnel. On n'a vu que le despote, et soudain la statue est tombée."<sup>87</sup> Those two halting sentences sum up the history of destruction by mob violence of so many works of art. A sudden movement of the crowd; the damage is done; and then half fearful they try to justify their act. But the National Assembly applauded. M. Lacroix suggested that all the statues which had been torn down in Paris be converted into cannon. M. Thuriot, not to be outdone, wished to include all the bronze figures throughout the Empire. The Assembly passed the motion of M. Lacroix as amended by M. Thuriot.<sup>88</sup>

The people of Dijon did not wait to hear that the National Assembly had legalized the destruction of royal monuments, for on the evening of August 14 when the news of the uprising in Paris on the tenth reached them, they began to tear down the statue of Louis XIV, which they managed to drag from its pedestal at seven the next morning after eighteen hours of hard work. The mayor cut off Louis' ears and nose, and the public executioner decapitated the fallen monarch.<sup>89</sup>

The statue thus destroyed made but a small contribution to the cause of liberty. The figures were found to consist of a large core of cement and iron rods covered with a thin skin of bronze from which the Creusot works produced only sixteen pieces of ordnance, although some of the metal was used by the local mint.<sup>90</sup> Even the pedestal was presently stripped of its marble, and then removed.<sup>91</sup> When on December 15, 1796, an English woman visited Dijon no trace of the monument was to be found, and she could write home sententiously: "Thus pass the mighty of this world and the monuments of their grandeur!"<sup>92</sup>

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84. M. Courtépée, *Description générale et particulière du duché de Bourgogne*, Dijon, 1847, II, 85. Courtépée figures the cost at 139,408 livres. Cornereau, *op. cit.*, II, makes the total cost 220,000 livres. Since he reckons in all the costs, damages, etc., this estimate is more nearly correct. L. Jarrot, *Revue de Bourgogne*, II, 1912, 79, gives a total cost of 280,594 livres which is probably excessive.

85. Steinmann, *Monatshfte für Kunstwissenschaft*, x, 1917, 338. His statue continued to be illuminated on special holidays, whereas the lights which were to burn before the figure of Louis XIV in the Place des Victoires were ex-

tinguished by 1699; see Boislisle, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

86. *Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur*, Paris, 1854, XIII, 388.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 419.

88. *Idem.*

89. Cornereau, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14. Jarrot, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

90. Cornereau, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

91. Chambure, *Dijon ancien et moderne*, pp. 149-50.

92. Albert Babeau, *La France et Paris sous le directoire: lettres d'une voyageuse anglaise*, Paris, 1888, p. 162.





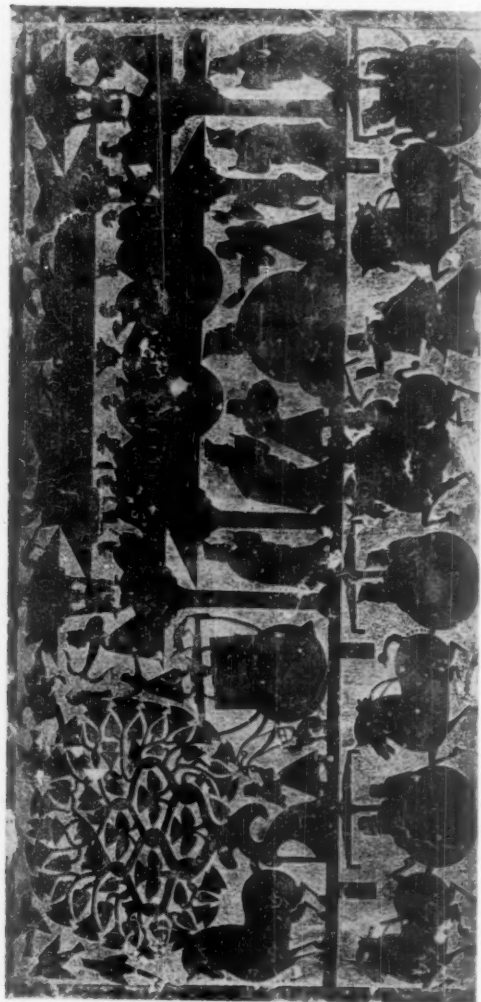


Fig. 1—The Ten Suns

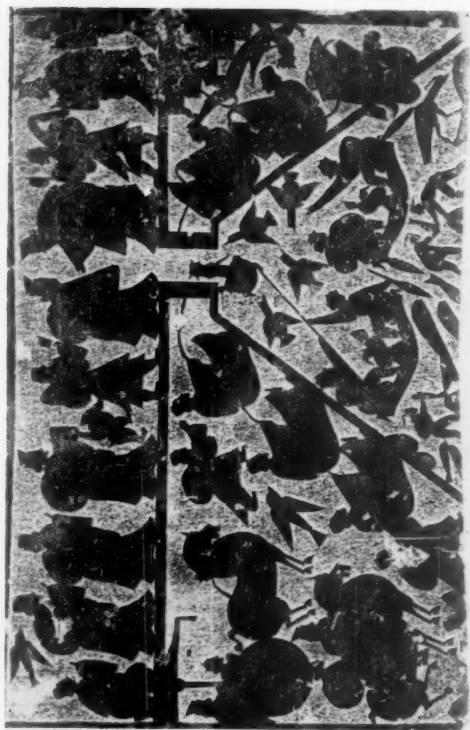


Fig. 2—The Lost Tripods of Chou

FIGS. 1-2—SHANTUNG, WU FAMILY TOMBS: DETAILS OF RUBBINGS FROM STONES IN OFFERING CHAMBERS, II A.D.



Fig. 3—Shantung, Hsiao-t'ang-shan Offering Chamber: Battle Against Barbarians, Rubbing from Stone, II-I B.C.

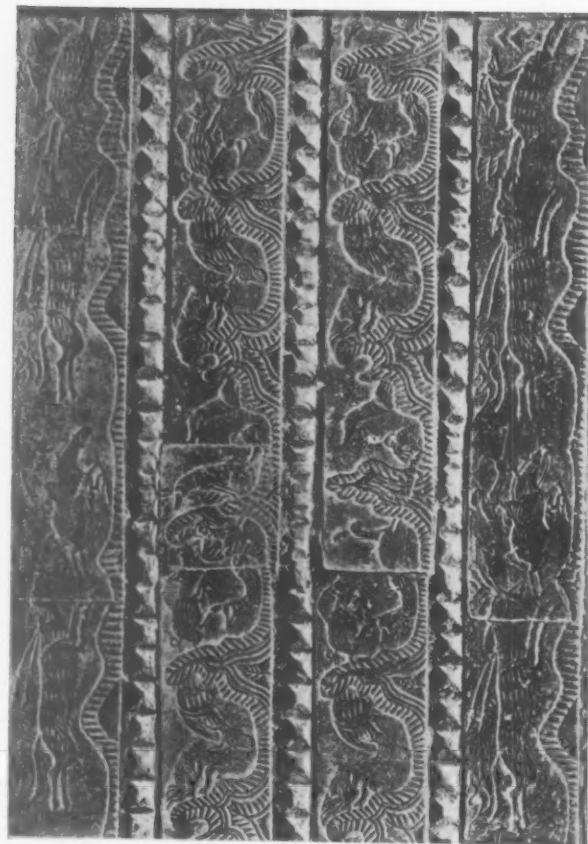


Fig. 4—Loo Collection (formerly): Han Tomb Tile with Stamped Patterns

# EARLY CHINESE LANDSCAPE PAINTING

By ALEXANDER C. SOPER

I—THE CHOU AND CH'IN DYNASTIES (1122?–206 B.C.); THE HAN  
DYNASTIES (206 B.C.–221 A.D.)

**H**OWEVER sensitive the Chinese spirit may have been, from immemorial antiquity, to the forces of Nature, it is certain that a landscape art made its appearance in the cultural history of China almost as late as in that of the Mediterranean world.

The ritual bronzes and jades of the Shang and Chou dynasties, which span the first thousand years of Chinese civilization, stand at an opposite pole in design and content from any sign of interest in the world of Nature for its own sake. In the course of their long development, the magical concerns of the earliest style were forgotten, and a severely regulated symbolism gave way to free decoration. Through all changes of forms and patterns, however, the primitive tradition remained in force to the end of Chou that a ceremonial art should deal only with zoöomorphic and abstract elements; and thus even the first short step toward landscape, a familiarity with the use of natural motives in ornament, was long postponed in the topmost reaches of artistic creation. It is true that ritual vessels and jades must have represented only one side of Chinese production in those centuries—the most respected, and doubtless the most conservative; and that we must complete our picture of the increasingly sophisticated culture of the feudal courts by imagining a highly developed decorative art serving the needs of daily life (in more perishable media than bronze or stone). There is no evidence, however, to show that such work can have differed in essentials from the types of design with which we are familiar.<sup>1</sup> The everyday language came with the passage of time to separate itself from the patterns of ancient ritual; in late Chou art the reverse was true, as the ceremonial style became more and more secularized until it lost all specific character.

In China as in the Mediterranean world, the appreciation of natural beauty showed itself in poetry long before it had any effect on representational art. The earliest Chinese songs, preserved from the first centuries of the Chou dynasty in the *Shih Ching* or "Poetry Classic," are already stirred by the memory of natural shapes and colors.<sup>2</sup> The life they

1. Among the twelve emblems which are said to have decorated the robes of the ancient emperors, two at least belonged to what would later have been a landscape repertory: the mountain and the pondweed (cf. the "History Classic," *Shu Ching*, II, v, translated by Legge in his *Chinese Classics*, III, p. 80, where the second emblem is rendered as "aquatic grass"). These signs of distinction were widely appropriated as the prestige of the Chou royal house declined. Confucius, a champion of the past, criticized a contemporary who used insignia to which he was not entitled, in giving his mansion "mountain capitals and pondweed kingposts," i.e., a painted or carved ornamentation by these motives on the wooden structural members (in the "Analects," *Lun Yü*, v, xviii; translated by Legge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 179, with slight differences). But the motives must have been chosen in the first place for their religious or magical importance, like those on the bronzes, and must have been shown in a highly conventionalized fashion. Plant ornament seems to have entered the repertory of Chinese archi-

tecture only in the Six Dynasties period, as an importation from the west.

2. Legge, *op. cit.*, v, vi, is the classical English translation; latest and perhaps best is that by A. Waley, *Book of Songs*, Boston and New York, 1937. My account of the evolution of the cult of Nature in China has been aided by the convenient summary in Japanese presented by S. Aoki in his pamphlet *Shina no Shizenkan* (translated title, "The Chinese Attitude toward Nature," chap. iv) in the Iwanamikōza series on "Trends of Thought in the Far East," *Tōyō-shichō*, Tōkyō, 1935.

Two songs may be quoted in part to show favorite devices; the first a metaphor, the second a simple natural setting for human emotion (cf. Legge, *op. cit.*, v, p. 12, and vi, p. 261):

1) The peach tree is young and beautiful,  
Clear and bright are its blossoms.  
That bride, who goes to her wedding,  
Well-fitted is she to her (new) household.

describe was even for the patrician an agricultural one, bound closely to the passage of the seasons, familiar with fields and waterways, growing things, animals, and birds. The songs reveal an awakened interest in all these aspects of country living, an appreciation already aesthetic rather than merely practical. On the other hand, they deal first of all with man as a social being, serving his prince and his ancestors in the more respectable odes, implicating himself in amorous entanglements in the less respectable. The principal theme is always a human one; the reference to Nature is used typically as a sort of *Leitmotif*, introducing the general mood of joy, pride, or lamentation by a preliminary statement in non-human terms. In the West at the same general period, a similar device had been brought to rich and vivid maturity in the Homeric metaphor. The Chinese statement is by comparison meager and primitive. The reference is brief, the intended suggestion immediate. Bright-colored birds or flowers set the theme of courtly pomp; fish in their multitudes suggest abundant offerings for the ancestral sacrifice. The technique is not always limited to such purely symbolic references, but very seldom goes so far beyond them as to attempt anything like a description of setting. The contrast with later Chinese ideas may be effectively shown by one motive, the mountain. Here is the principal theme of mature nature worship in China, a total concept of inconceivable richness and majesty, formed by contributions from every level of human thought, metaphysical, poetic, practical, superstitious. For the early Chou songs, a mountain is high, to suggest human eminence; it is immovable and eternal, as the life of the prince should be; it is steep and hard to climb, to set a mood of complaint over difficulties.

Toward the end of the Chou dynasty, a new type of poetry was perfected in a relatively new part of China, the state of Ch'u, reaching south to the Yang-tzu River. A heightened interest in Nature as a source of poetic emotion is one of the obvious innovations of this new style, which at the hands of its two great originators, Ch'ü Yüan and Sung Yü of the fourth century B.C., was carried in form and content very far beyond the standard of the classical songs.<sup>3</sup> The factor of geography was unquestionably a potent stimulus in rousing these men to a wider and more aesthetically conscious appreciation of Nature. Middle China—if for no other reason than the inexhaustible romantic appeal of its landscapes—has in all later periods been the center of nature worship, the home of the great schools of landscape painting and of the hermit ideal; in late Chou it seems to have been the source of the nature philosophy Taoism, as the cold, severe north bred the humanist rationality of Confucius. In the younger poet, Sung Yü, the new emphasis is particularly marked. His great prose-poem, the *Kao-i'ang Fu*, explores the aesthetic possibilities of a description of Nature with unprecedented enthusiasm and thoroughness. The theme is already the romantic mountain prospect of the mature Chinese ideal; the elements are those of the classic land-

2) At first, when we went away,  
The willow trees were swaying, swaying;  
Now, when we return,  
The sleet is falling, falling . . .

3. Cf. Waley, *170 Chinese Poems*, London, 1918, and *The Temple*, New York, 1923, for selected translations. The *K'ao-i'ang Fu* is in the latter, pp. 65 ff.; the "Man-wind and Woman-wind" in the former, pp. 24-26.

Aoki points out that the region to which Ch'ü Yüan is supposed to have been exiled late in life, between the Yüan and Hsiang rivers in Hunan, is particularly rich in natural beauties. A selection from his "The River Crossing" shows how much richer the landscape setting has become, although it is still used to set a human mood—in this case of

sorrow and disappointment:

On the way into Hsü-p'u (Hunan) I faltered,  
Bewildered, and not knowing where to go.  
Deep forests spreading far, sombrely dark, the haunt of gibbons,  
Mountains towering upward, hiding the sun,  
With shadows profound beneath them; much rain,  
Sleet and snow intermingled and endless . . .

Ch'ü Yüan seems to have been the ancestor, as well, of the long line of Chinese poets who have celebrated the beauties of individual objects in Nature: trees, flowers, bamboo, rocks, etc. His "*Fu* in Praise of the Orange Tree" is already an elaborate example of the genre which was to become popular in the Six Dynasties; its transitional character, again, lies in the hidden meanings which make the description also an allegory of human relationships.



scape style of later ages, mountains, trees, and water; the mood shifts from one to another of these in what will soon become an orthodox pattern. The mountains are a wilderness of terrifying peaks and tumbled rock; the forests are darkened by shadows; the torrent rushes precipitously between rock walls, smashing against obstructions in a cloud of spray and foam. The poem as a whole, however, is by no means as emancipated from tradition as its descriptions alone suggest. The main emphasis is still a humanistic one. Its humanism has a curious transitional character which persisted among the followers of the Ch'u school for centuries: the beauty of Nature, so lovingly and vividly described, is personified in the person of a goddess or tutelary spirit, seen in the guise of a lovely lady entrancingly dressed, winsome in manner and speech. The catalogue of her attractions is lengthened by seductive details, no less vivid and compelling than the splash and roar of the mountain stream; and the surprised western reader finds, all at once, that he has been drawn well past the stage of Wordsworthian revery into the midst of the purest erotic titillation. Sung Yü's other celebrated essay in description, the "*Fu* of the Man-wind and the Woman-wind," shows by its title alone the same sort of transitional character. The theme is on the surface a purely descriptive one, and is handled as such with great gusto. But the taste of the time is still unwilling to allow Nature a full aesthetic independence; and so the two winds, with their contrasted characters, become poetically acceptable when they are finally linked to the human sexes. The hesitation and conservatism which hold Sung Yü still in the "rosy-fingered Dawn, child of the morning" stage of imagery, are obvious. It is obvious also that in comparison to the classical songs of early Chou, the balance has been radically altered. There the reference to Nature had heightened a dominantly human subject; now the reference to humanity balances the natural theme on almost even terms, and may even dwindle to vestigial form.

One final reminder that even late Chou was an age in which awareness of natural beauty and grandeur was still largely beneath the surface, is provided by the writings of the Taoist Fathers, Lao-tzu, Chuang-tzu, and Lieh-tzu. Taoism is essentially a nature philosophy, rejecting the works of civilized man, seeking peace and certainty outside of governments and social systems and all the ethical preoccupations of Confucius. In its later development—roughly from the third century A.D., as we shall see—it furnished the strongest encouragement to the movement which brought Chinese nature worship to maturity, to the hermits who fled from invasion, civil war, and social anarchy to live in the wilderness and learn its secrets. The diluted Taoism of these later centuries implied a profound absorption in the phenomena of Nature, a love of mountains and trees and water for their own sake as well as for the larger truths manifest in them. The Taoism of the Fathers is profoundly concerned with the forces and rhythms of Nature, and interested in the natural world as an antithesis to human society; so far as I know, it contains no slightest suggestion of delight in natural objects.<sup>4</sup>

The four centuries of the Han dynasty added very little to the slow advance of the Chinese capacity to love and understand the world of Nature. Han poetry even declined in this respect from the height reached before it by Sung Yü. Han was a time of empire-building, of immense new wealth and power, of enlarged political and economic responsibilities. The realistic mood of the age gave small encouragement to anti-social dreaming.

4. Curiously enough, it was the prosaic Confucius who paid Chou philosophy's one notable tribute to the forms of Nature, in his celebrated axiom, "The wise find pleasure in

water, the good find pleasure in hills" (*Lun Yü*, vi<sub>12</sub>; Legge, I, p. 192).

The inspiration for nature poetry was either stifled, or diverted into a practical channel. For the articulate man of Han—courtier, soldier, or official, city-dweller absorbed in the brilliant pageant of metropolitan life in a busy and successful empire—the most insistent stimulus to the imagination came from the palace, the prime symbol of human greatness, erected now on an unimaginable scale of splendor, vastness, and multiplicity. An essential part of the palace setting was the closed park beside it, a jealously-guarded hunting preserve complete with real or artificial hills, lakes, and forests. What remained of Sung Yü's tradition of nature poetry was applied by very clever Han imitators like Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju to the description of such half-artificial parks and gardens; and not for their own value alone, but merely as part of a grandiose account of the beauties and remarkable sights of the whole capital.

These same princely parks, of course, mark the Han as the first great age of garden building, and give importance to a field which in time was to become a principal object of nature worship in China (and later in Japan). In Han palaces, they must already have provided a strong aesthetic satisfaction, and a relief from the formality of official relationships. More practical concerns were doubtless still of major importance. The park was on the one hand a hunting preserve, stocked with wild animals, as it had been in Chou times; on the other it satisfied the superstitious fancies of the period by being laid out in imitation of the Taoist fairyland, with magic island peaks rising steeply from the waters of its lake. The most famous garden lake in the earlier Han capital, Ch'ang-an, was actually dug not to gratify any eye, but to provide the imperial troops with a body of water upon which to practice aquatic maneuvers.<sup>5</sup>

The representative arts of Han, products of an age of expansion and extroversion, showed themselves no more interested in the world of Nature than did Han literature. Their total repertory of ideas—the inheritance from late Chou, exotic influences from the West marking the advance of the empire, new creations of the Han itself—remained with a few narrowly confined exceptions exclusively abstract and zoöomorphic. The highest art, painting, was preoccupied almost without exception by human affairs. Historians record the interest of Han emperors only in the field of portraiture; on the one hand to perpetuate the memories of great statesmen and generals, on the other to facilitate the imperial selection of concubines, without the fatigue and bustle of a personal examination. In the description of the wall paintings of the Ling-kuang palace in the state of Lu—the fullest epitome of the monumental art of Han—a great encyclopedia of time and space is shown us, conceived from the still wholly humanistic viewpoint of the age.<sup>6</sup> There the Han Mirror of History, born of Confucian ethics, is alternately an encouragement to wisdom and virtue by the example of great men of the past, and a restraint upon folly and vice by the example of

5. I.e., Lake K'un-ming, which was greatly widened by the Emperor Wu (140-86 B.C.) to make it a replica of the lake so named in Yunnan, which he intended to attack. The name and memory are preserved in the present Summer Palace lake outside of Peking. Aoki notes that the fashion for garden-making may be carried back into very early Chou, since one of the most ancient odes, dealing with the dynastic founder King Wen, speaks of his "wondrous park, where the deer and doe crouch," and of his "wondrous pond, full of fishes leaping about" (Legge, VI, p. 457). The hunting-preserve tradition, with a new touch of exoticism, is still strong in Ch'ü Yüan's "Great Summons," in which the singer tries to call back an expiring soul by reminding it of all the pleasures of life:

Peacocks shall fill your gardens; you shall rear

The roc and phoenix, and red jungle-fowl . . .

(translated by Waley, in *More Translations from the Chinese*, New York, 1919, p. 18). Around 100 B.C., Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's "*Fu* of the Ch'ang Gate" tells of the empress gazing about her from the high "Orchid Terrace"; amid the perfume of cassia trees, peacocks flocked together, monkeys screamed, kingfishers gathered, and phoenixes flew about.

6. The *Lu Ling-kuang-tien Fu*, by Wang Yen-shou, of the early second century A.D., purporting to describe a palace built by a prince of the imperial lineage in the second B.C. Translated into German by von Zach, *Asia Major*, III, 1926, 31 ff. The account of the sculptured and painted decorations is given in French by Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, Paris, 1909, I, 31.

notorious scoundrels. The *Mirror of Nature*, a confused product of popular imagination and Taoist fairytale, presents the world in a multitude of shapes and animals, monsters, and genii of mountain and water. The Ling-kuang paintings are totally lost, with all the other great fresco cycles of Han palaces which our imagination can supply. Fortunately their subject matter seems to have been imitated in Han sepulchral art—perhaps as faithfully as the more difficult (if more permanent) medium of stone would allow. In the stone tomb slabs of the Wu family in Shantung, dating in the second century A.D., the Ling-kuang encyclopedia is repeated in small scale, but with a striking correspondence of themes.<sup>7</sup> As the description of the frescoes suggests, all these subjects, all the myriad shapes of Heaven and Earth, are illustrated largely by means of the forms of men and animals alone.

In the Wu family slabs (Figs. 1-2), and in those from the somewhat earlier site of Hsiao-t'ang-shan (Fig. 3),<sup>7</sup> the element of setting is present only where it is indispensable to the theme, and then in primitive form. The architectural background at its most elaborate is the same naively flat combination of front and side elevations which was used in European medieval art (Fig. 1). Landscape setting is omitted almost entirely. On one of the Hsiao-t'ang-shan slabs, at the bottom of the east wall, barbarian horsemen emerge from behind what may have been meant as a range of hills, but which would serve equally well as an indication of nomads' tents (Fig. 3). The pseudo-historic scene of the attempt to recover the tripods of Chou from the river, several times repeated, is provided with what is perhaps a schematic representation of dikes along the bank on either side; but the convention is so far-fetched as to be almost unintelligible (Fig. 2).<sup>8</sup> Ground lines may be shown; on the other hand, the great battle scene on one of the Wu slabs has no out-of-door indication except its bridge (and a small tree drawn like a large jack-in-the-pulpit, in which one warrior seems to be skulking).

It is true that a conspicuous motive of this sepulchral art of Han is the tree, and that such forms are handled frequently with an interest which reveals itself in a notable beauty of line and pattern. These elements of Nature, however, are shown not for their natural beauty nor for their aid in establishing a landscape setting, but almost always as individuals of literary or talismanic importance. The most elaborate, three times repeated in the Wu slabs with substantially the same shape and surroundings, is a tree whose branches wind upward in an elaborate interlace, supporting a number of large birds (Fig. 1). According to the most plausible explanation of the scene, these last are the ten suns, imagined by the early Chinese in the guise of crows; the tree is the gigantic Fu-sang at the eastern boundary of the world, by means of which each morning one of the suns mounts into the sky. Other trees appear in the tomb series, and particularly on the contemporary memorial slab of Li Hsi, as objects of good omen (Fig. 7);<sup>9</sup> the famous calendar tree which grew in the

7. Full account in Chavannes' *Mission*, I. The Wu tombs are well dated by inscriptions on stelae of members of the family who died in 145, 151, 167, etc. Hsiao-t'ang-shan has no sure connection with any date of burial, being connected by tradition only with one of the Han models of filial piety, Kuo Chū. It must have existed some time before it was visited by a worshipper in 129 A.D. In both cases the slabs come not from underground burial chambers, but from small stone offering chapels set up above ground some distance in front of the tumulus. The designs on the walls—incised in the earlier work, relieved against a striated ground in the later—are scenes taken from Taoist mythology or Confucian moralized history. Only in a few cases do they seem to deal directly with the deceased.

8. Most prized among the emblems of royal legitimacy during the Chou dynasty had been a set of nine bronze

tripods, supposedly cast in the reign of the semi-mythical Emperor Yü, and handed down from king to king and from one dynasty to the next. In the confusion which attended the final extinction of the Chou house, they disappeared. The First Emperor of the Ch'in (221-209 B.C.) sent an army of engineers and divers to hunt for them in the river where they were thought to have been concealed, being anxious to secure the symbols of power as well as its actuality. Grappling irons pulled one bronze to the surface; then, as if unseen powers were in league against the tyrant, a dragon rose out of the water and dragged it down again.

9. Discussed and reproduced in Chavannes, *Mission*, I. The monument to Li Hsi, cut in 171 A.D., is not a tomb slab but a memorial inscribed on the face of a cliff in the place where he served as governor, Kansu near the Ssu-ch'uan border.



courtyard of the sage emperor Yao, and marked the passage of time by the growth or loss of a branch every day; the "joining of the trees which takes place when the sovereign's virtue is unmixed"; miraculous growths which drop ambrosia, or bear jewels. The magical character of these subjects perhaps removes them even farther than usual at the period from any direct observation of Nature. Their representation, at any rate, embodies the characteristics of any archaic age, qualities so universal that several of these Han trees could plausibly take their places without change of form on Greek vases of the sixth century, or on Sasanian silverware, or in Ottonian manuscripts. The tree is perfectly flat. Normally the chief interest of the artist is in the linear rhythm of its branching. Foliage or fruit is added with full decorative formality at the end of each branch; by a familiar symbolic process, the multiplicity of Nature is drastically reduced until a single such terminal motive stands for all the leaves dependent on the branch, and a half dozen branches for the whole tree. Sometimes the tree is shown with even greater brevity, as a single leaf-like silhouette within which the details of subdivision are drawn, like the tree-triangles which punctuate the procession along the great stair of Xerxes at Persepolis.<sup>10</sup>

In any art which has not yet reached the stage of landscape, all preparatory moves in the direction of a fuller realization of space are important. A number of such signs of progress may be seen in Han illustrative art. The figures drawn on the slabs of Hsiao-t'ang-shan and the Wu tombs are usually set along a single ground line, or even disposed with absolute freedom over the surface of the stone; the architectural settings are completely flat (Figs. 1-3). On the other hand, primitive attempts to show the relationship of figures in depth are frequently noticeable. In the Hsiao-t'ang-shan processions, the farther line of horsemen is fully shown directly above the nearer; in the battle scene this alignment is loosened, and the barbarians are made to charge out from a series of hill or tent planes, which partially hide the rear horsemen. (On the perfection of just this device rested the fame of the fifth-century Athenian painter Mikon, closest rival of Polygnotus.) On the Hsiao slabs there are even distinctions in the application of a perspective method which suggest that its comparative difficulty and novelty reserved it for subjects of major importance. The usual chariot is drawn in full side elevation, although the far horse projects slightly above and in front of the near. The chariot bearing the enormous drum is elaborated to the extent that its far wheel is shown in front of the near, on the same line. The king's chariot, finally, is shown in an adequate bird's-eye view, with the farther wheel rising above the nearer, and all four posts drawn to support the canopy. In the somewhat later Wu slabs, almost all chariots are represented at least with both wheels visible. Here also a unique figure grouping sets three seated men on a diagonal line in space, almost a normal perspective view in that the heads are approximately on the same line. This advance is further developed in the slabs from the tomb of the Han general Chu Wei, of the first century A.D., which in general maturity far surpass all other Han sepulchral illustrations;<sup>11</sup>

10. All Han trees are not on the same level of formality. The evidence for a development toward greater naturalness has been plausibly assembled by O. Fischer in his "Die Entwicklung der Baumdarstellung in der chinesische Kunst," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, II, 1913-14, 52-64, 157-77. The comparatively late trees drawn on the memorial to Li Hsi, dated 171 A.D., are much less stiffly symmetrical than those of the Wu slabs etc., even though they represent miraculous growths.

11. Unfortunately these slabs have disappeared, and so are known only through rubbings taken from them some time ago. Published by O. Fischer in his *Die chinesische Malerei der Han-dynastie*, Berlin, 1931, pls. 32-53, pp. 53 ff.

Chu Wei was a loyalist general at the time of the restoration of the Han imperial line in 23-25 A.D. The scene represented is an ancestral offering-feast; some of the attendant figures are so strongly characterized as to seem portraits. The marked maturity of design and drawing in comparison with the standard of the century-later Wu slabs creates a rather vexing problem. G. Rowley has subjected a set of the Chu Wei rubbings to careful examination at Princeton, and is convinced that they show extensive re-cutting. This might account for a good deal of sophistication in details of drawing, but would not normally affect the composition or main outlines of the figures. The late eighteenth-century authors of the official catalogue of ancient inscriptions in

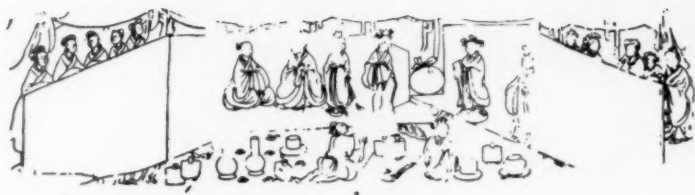


Fig. 5—Shantung, Tomb of General Chu Wei: Ceremonial Feast, Schematic Drawing from Offering Chamber Stone, I A.D.

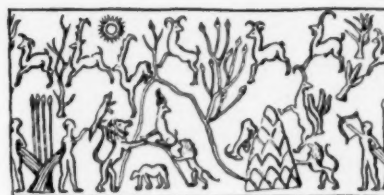


Fig. 6—Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: Seal Cylinder, Sargonid (?) Period (From a Drawing)



Fig. 7—Kansu, Cliff: Inscription in Praise of Li Hsi, and Apparitions of Good Omen, 171 A.D.



Fig. 8—Heijō (Pyong-yang) Museum, Korea: Taoist Goddess on Fairy Mountain, Detail of Red Lacquer Bowl from Lo-lang, I A.D.



Fig. 9—Loo Collection (formerly): Drawing of Patterns on Han Inlaid Bronze Cylinder



Fig. 10—Stockholm, Sirén Collection: Han Bronze Incense Burner



Fig. 11—London, British Museum, Ku K'ai-chih's Scroll of "Admonitions," Detail, IV-V A.D.



Fig. 12—Washington, Freer Gallery: Sung Copy of "Lo Goddess" Scroll  
with Illustrations Attributed to Ku K'ai-chih



both the figures and the room in which they are placed follow the lines of something like a formal one-point interior perspective, which makes possible the presentation of a great many elements in a convincing spatial relationship (Fig. 5). From this moment to the great T'ang frescoes of the Western Paradise at Tun-huang, the advance lies only in elaboration and perfection of details.

It is in the lesser service of decoration that landscape enters the art of the Han period, and under the strongest suspicion of foreign influence.<sup>12</sup> On tomb tiles, pottery vessels, and inlaid bronzes, the typical Han landscape is often present as a setting for human and animal figures in violent action (Figs. 4, 9, and 10). Hunters pursue their quarry at full gallop across long, swelling ground lines; wild beasts flee from their enemies over a succession of peaks, or halt momentarily at the top to look about. The horsemen seem to be nomads, and turn in their saddles to shoot backwards in the same mid-Asiatic fashion which exasperated the Romans in Parthia; much of the animal repertory is exotic. It can hardly be doubted that the whole idea of a chase among mountains was borrowed by the expanding Han empire from the Near East. The immediate prototypes which should exist in Iranian art are unfortunately lacking; not because they never existed, but through the chances of preservation. The lost Achaemenian chase may be plausibly reconstructed from other evidence. The Iranian renaissance in Sasanian times recalls the idea in debased form, when the shah upon a silver platter pursues his game above a vestigial mountain.<sup>13</sup> Behind the hypothetical Iranian version must have lain the Assyrian. Here known monuments approach the theme closely from various sides without quite fulfilling all of its conditions. By a curious accident, the closest parallel known to me for the Chinese formula may be more than two thousand years earlier. A Mesopotamian cylinder seal, which Frankfort dates in the period of Sargon of Akkad, around 2500 B.C.,<sup>14</sup> shows bowmen (on foot, since the date is so early), and a pursuit of lions after antelope over precipitous peaks (Fig. 6).

The imported subject is treated by the Chinese in several ways, all carried well beyond the stage of mere imitation. Where the pursuit is dominant, even the least of the Chinese friezes has a wild energy and tumult of linear rhythms which is typically Han, and very

Shantung province, the *Shan Tso Chin Shih Chih*, were so disturbed by the variation from the Wu standard and by what they considered a resemblance to the figure painting of T'ang and Sung that they thought the work might be an archaistic imitation, added by some later antiquarian to the authentic Han memorial inscription (quoted in Japanese in Omura's history of Chinese sculpture, *Shina-bijitsushi, Chōchōhen*, Tōkyō, 1915, p. 72). Against this I should hold two arguments. First, a Sung imitation, as distinguished from a re-cutting, would probably betray itself in composition, by being either a good deal more knowing or a good deal more deliberately simple than the Chu Wei design. Second, the Wu slabs are by no means perfectly satisfactory as a measure of the full capacity of Han style around 150 A.D.; their relative naïveté clashes with the idea of a developing portrait style which literary records prove, and the gap between them and Ku K'ai-chih, two centuries later, is enormous. Perhaps the explanation is that the Chu Wei design was made expressly for the occasion, as a sort of family group portrait, and so made use of the most up-to-date methods of around 50 A.D.; while the Wu scenes were taken from a traditional and perhaps highly conservative repertory, which might have been standardized several centuries earlier. The *Ling-kuang-tien Fu* after all describes a fresco cycle, using the same repertory, which supposedly was executed for a prince of Lu between 154-129 B.C. It

has been presumed that this historical tag was fictitious and that Wang Yen-shou was actually speaking of the paintings of his own time, the second century A.D. The same bias rejects an important account of even earlier cycles (cf. Chavannes, *Mission*, I, 92). The second-century A.D. editor of Ch'ü Yüan's "Heavenly Questionings," Wang I, explains in his preface that the curious subject matter was taken by the poet (in the fourth B.C.) from the paintings which he had seen in the funeral shrines of the great in his state of Ch'u, representing "Heaven and Earth, mountains and waterways, divine and supernatural beings . . . the sages and saints of antiquity . . ." etc. Perhaps there was some historical basis behind these references, and not merely the Chinese passion for hitching one's wagon to the past.

12. The most convenient résumé of objects is given by Sirén in his *Histoire des arts anciens de la Chine*, Paris and Brussels, 1929, vol. II.

13. Iranian versions: *Survey of Persian Art*, London and New York, 1937, IV, pls. 204, 205, 218, 228, 231, etc. (various combinations of hunt plus vestigial landscape theme on silver platters). Cf. also the Tāq-i-būstān rock reliefs of Khusraw II hunting boar and deer (although without mountains).

14. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, fig. 36, p. 140.

different from the slow solidity of the Near East. The mountain-and-animal theme is most thoroughly exploited in the so-called hill jars and censers (Fig. 10), with their tops plastically modeled into a roughly conical peak.<sup>15</sup> The cone is formed by many small, overlapping, mountain-motive planes. On the face of each of these, or between adjacent planes, is indicated a tree, or a human or animal form hunting or being pursued.<sup>16</sup> The resemblance to an Assyrian landscape composition, like the one in relief on a bronze cup in the British Museum, is striking; and it is the more interesting, therefore, to realize that the Chinese version has naturalized the idea as much as possible by making the mountain a Taoist fairyland peak, and even sometimes by transforming the hunters into winged Taoist genii.

Most remarkable and significant are those versions of the Near Eastern chase in which the Han artist has boldly adapted the theme to his own instinctive preferences.<sup>17</sup> It is precisely the landscape, the most unfamiliar element in the borrowed repertory, which is treated most mercilessly in this process. Hunters and beasts may remain in full headlong pursuit, as at the start; but the mountain silhouette may now be repeated upside down at the top of the running frieze, as if it were hanging from the upper border, apparently repeated out of sheer delight in the multiplication of jerky pell-mell rhythms. By a further stride toward full creative license, the whole setting may break down into clouds or meaningless swirling lines, as effective as the mountains from the point of view of linear motion, and less hampering to the imagination of the artist. In highly elaborate form in the inlaid bronzes, and more simply in textiles, the silhouette of repeating peaks may be transformed into an extraordinary abstraction—part mountain still, with a condor perched at the top, or a deer plunging down to escape the tiger behind him; part cloud scroll; and part a derivation from the bird-head ornamental finials of the "Scythian" animal style (Fig. 9). This readiness to substitute more congenial—because more abstract—versions of the mountain theme shows the general indifference of Han art to landscape as anything but an element of decoration, with only the slightest connection with the natural world.

It is in the field of decoration, finally, that the earliest example of any importance exists of a landscape actually executed with a brush. This is the design painted on the surface of a lacquer plate, found among the vestiges of the Han colonial city Lo-lang in Korea (Fig. 8). It is one of three tiny areas of elaboration at the edge of a circle otherwise empty (an extraordinary contrast to the *horror vacui* of the tomb slabs). The central motive is a female figure, doubtless the Taoist goddess of immortality, Hsi-wang-mu, seated on a high, overhanging crag. The magical, almost cloud-like character of the mountain throne is emphasized by fluid brushwork and the long, drifting lines of hanging grasses. Taoist myth makes this setting an iconographic essential, but demands no more than a symbol of the fantastic and supernatural; actual Nature is as far away as ever.

15. Cf. Sirén, *op. cit.*, II, pls. 35-38, 80.

16. *Survey of Persian Art*, IV, pl. 204, presents a Sasanian plate with a tiger standing between two formal trees above a vestigial mountain. The four overlapping mountain-motive silhouettes which make up the latter have in relief against their faces respectively a flower, a pursuing dog, and two birds. For the Assyrian cup, where the silhouetting is much more naturalistic, see Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1884, II, 751. With even greater formality, the Loo tomb tile (Fig. 4) has a single tiny, rudimentary tree spotted against the base of each of its peaks. To this might be compared a roughly contemporary fresco from Dura, where the mountains have been reduced in scale to small hummocks, piling up into a mound (Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Euphrates*, pl. xlviii). From

such a Near Eastern tradition, probably, the idea entered the early medieval art of Europe, e.g., the Bibles of the Carolingian manuscript school of Tours. It seems to me likely, also, that the same idea is represented in conventionalized form in the long-lived Near Eastern frieze of crenellations, in which the center of each stepped element is occupied by a shape which might very well be a symbolic tree. Among many possible examples, see a Parthian stucco frieze from Assur, in H. Glück and E. Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte)*, pl. 127. As one would expect, the Chinese mountains stand at the other extreme, with a picturesque moving irregularity of contour.

17. See especially the inlaid bronzes in Sirén, *op. cit.*, or in Rostovtsev, *Inlaid Bronzes of the Han Dynasty*, Paris and Brussels, 1927.

Whatever encouragement the centuries of Han empire may have given to a slowly awakening interest in actual Chinese scenery, may just possibly have shown itself outside the domain of art in the science of map-making.<sup>18</sup> We know that cartography existed in some form under the Chou, and by the end of Ch'in (in the late third century B.C.) had become efficient enough so that the possession of the old Ch'in regional maps was a real advantage to the general who had captured them, in his struggle to erect a new dynasty. Numerous references to map-making may be found in the Han histories, and it is supposed that the progress of the science was hastened in the latter part of the period by the adoption of silk and paper as a ground, instead of the wooden blocks which had served the Ch'in. Unfortunately nothing is known of the appearance of these early maps; and critics like Laufer, who have supposed that the science must have lain close to landscape painting in using the same form of bird's-eye panorama, must take their best evidence from stone-engraved maps no earlier than the twelfth century. Even a primitive map of mountains and rivers, showing the passes which an army must use, might have approximated the effect of a landscape panorama in the Han dynasty. On the other hand, the instances cited in the histories, which presumably represent the maturest achievements of the science, have to do with maps either of so large a terrain or drawn in so limited an area, that landscape features could have been represented on them only in almost stenographic form, with a mountain reduced to a tiny triangle or check; or else by a complete distortion of natural scale relationships.<sup>19</sup> The earliest treatise on cartography, by P'ei Hsiu of the mid-third century A.D., makes just that criticism of earlier efforts in the field: "they give a rough configuration, but are very imperfect; often there are absurdities, and things unrelated or exaggerated which do not agree with actuality and cannot be admitted by good sense." P'ei Hsiu's own system involved a gridiron layout and accurate scale, apparently for the first time. Thus what evidence exists in the field hardly justifies a claim that Han map-making had any important effect on the development of a landscape art.

## II—THE THREE KINGDOMS (221-265); THE SIX DYNASTIES (265-589)

Wide-spreading political and social anarchy in the last decades of Han, and the incessant civil warfare which followed, rudely shattered the old imperial mood of confident extraversion. With the barbarian invasions which began in the early fourth century, distress rose to the level of catastrophe. The whole of north China lapsed into a wilderness of raiding,

18. Cf. Chavannes, "Les deux plus anciens spécimens de la cartographie chinoise," *Bull. de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient*, III, 1903, 214-47. More recently, Duyvendak, "An Illustrated Battle Account in the History of the Former Han Dynasty," *T'oung Pao*, xxxiv, 1939, with a comment by Dubs in *idem*, xxxvi-3, 211. This last is an interesting attempt to prove that after the victory of a Chinese expeditionary force in middle Asia in 36 B.C.—the capture of the capital of Ferghana—a pictorial record of the campaign, including not only maps but an episodic illustration of the siege, was shown in the Han capital. Duyvendak thinks that in view of the novelty of the idea in China, the illustration may have been done by a Sogdian eyewitness, in the style of his own country (for which the imagination might call up a composite picture of the column of Trajan, the Vatican Joshua Rotulus, Assyrian siege reliefs, and Gandharan style). Dubs imagines a long scroll map showing the route followed, with marginal illustrations above and below as it unfolded; this to be by a Chinese. For neither supposition is the footing very secure.

19. The earliest preserved maps in the Far East are prob-

ably those in the Shōsōin storehouse in Nara, Japan, recording the properties of the monastery Tōdaiji at the mid-eighth century. Here the terrain is limited, so that details are large; but the system followed (doubtless Chinese, like all the apparatus of civilization in Japan at the time) is extremely primitive even at so comparatively late a date, from the standpoint of landscape organization. Cf. *Tōei Shūkō*, Tōkyō, 1927, IV, pls. 204-206. In the more complicated example, the method is to erect a silhouette of a range of hills along whatever axis this would actually follow in plan. The result is a confusion of lines running in every direction, without the slightest resemblance to a coherent view. In the simpler map, dated 756, the ranges run schematically on a checkerboard plan; facing downward at top and bottom, facing outward to the left, and marking a transverse valley across the middle of the property by two ranges, of which the upper is upside down. It is easy to draw parallels to this naïve type of visualization from the conventionalized landscapes of Egypt, Assyria, etc.; and difficult to see how it could contribute much toward the development of a mature landscape art.



massacre, and famine; orderly government survived only in the south, where the Chinese rulers had fled in panic to barricade themselves behind the Yang-tzu. The dynasties which succeeded each other at short intervals in Nanking maintained the showy forms of empire, without anything of the imperial spirit. In these dark ages when all greatness and security lay in the past, the minds of intelligent Chinese were profoundly altered. The old ambition of the scholar, to serve his ruler with loyalty and distinction, lost its meaning in the general collapse of external values. The Confucian ideal of coöperative service struggled helplessly against confusion and disillusionment. In its place the counter-ideal of individualism, which had first been stated in a similar age of chaos in late Chou, rose with renewed persuasiveness. In the settled order of early Han, the writer Chia I had died broken-hearted in his early thirties because he was forbidden the opportunity of serving the state. Four centuries later, in the midst of the civil wars of the Three Kingdoms, the altered spirit of the scholarly class was most sensationally exhibited in the anarchic hedonism of the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove"; and one of that number, Hsi K'ang, so obstinately refused the offices tendered him by the king of Wei and spoke with such open contempt of all authority, that his execution became a political necessity. More typical must have been the case of the great poet T'ao Yüan-ming, of the fourth and early fifth centuries, who held office four times under pressure of poverty, and once spent six years at the capital; his poems during the period express an interminable nostalgia, and the joy of his homecoming to peace and solitude is immortalized in the most famous among them, the "Return of an Official."<sup>20</sup>

An escapist mentality ruled everywhere, taking many forms in response to one deep-seated impulse. Bodily danger in many cases brought a physical flight from the cities threatened by invasion or coup d'état, into the mountain wilderness beyond the reach of armies; the age was one of famous hermits and mountain wanderers. The intelligent mind, disgusted by human violence and folly, denied its social responsibilities, and turned from human contacts and values toward whatever relief it could find. Here the escape was very often a religious one, as in the Mediterranean world at the same time; this was the great age of Buddhist expansion into China. For the strongest thinkers, peace lay within the mind itself, as it had for the first Taoists in late Chou. For many more on a less strenuous level, the solace of philosophy made itself known through the world of Nature. The slow evolution toward love and understanding of natural beauty, which we have traced in China since the classical songs, was radically accelerated now as a means of escape from the oppression of humanity. Rapidly maturing nature worship created a romantic cult of the wilderness, of precipitous ranges and deep valleys far from the dust of civilization, of immeasurable silences broken only by the splash of mountain streams and the cry of monkeys from the depths of the forest. At the same time the new intensity of feeling was deep and sincere enough to exist without such obvious romanticism; the poet T'ao Yüan-ming found all the beauty and peace which he longed for in a common countryside, and for those who lived perforce at the very center of bustle and confusion, imagination preserved the precious mood of retreat and emptiness in a small garden, or even in a poem, or perhaps even in a painting.

This, then, was the first great age of nature poetry, existing now for its own sake and stripped of the meretricious ornaments of the school of Ch'u. The fifth-century writer Hsieh Ling-yün, composing still in the orthodox forms of Ch'u and Han, declares in his preface a deliberate change of purpose: "What I describe now is not the sumptuousness of capitals and cities, of palaces and towers, of promenades and hunts, of sounds and colors;

20. Selected translations by Waley, *170 Chinese Poems*, pp. 71-79 (under the poet's more formal appellation, T'ao Ch'ien).

I tell only of mountains and plains, of plants and trees, of waters and rocks, of cereals and grains . . . ”<sup>21</sup>

The great achievements of the time, inspired by the beauty and majesty of the natural world, probably lay still in this field of poetry rather than in that of pictorial art. The poems of T'ao Yüan-ming already go as far as the Chinese language permits, in transmitting an emotion of serene beauty. The painted landscapes, judged by any sophisticated standard, must still have been hampered by archaic limitations of technique and visualization. Yet lest we should underestimate their power to stir the imagination, even by imperfect means, history records the life of the painter and critic Tsung Ping (375-443):

Tsung Ping loved landscapes. In the west, he ascended Mounts Ching and Wu; in the south he climbed the peak of Heng. On the last he built himself a hut, cherishing the idea of a peaceful (life there). Then he fell ill, and went home to Chiang-ling. He said, lamenting, "I am old and in poor health as well; I fear it would be difficult for me to roam among the famous mountains (any longer). Now I can only clarify my desires by meditation on the *Tao*, and wander in my dreams." All that he had experienced in his travels, he painted on his walls.<sup>22</sup>

The obvious geographic factor—the picturesque beauty of southern mountain scenery, even the temperate climate which permitted life at the hermit's level the year around—operated as surely under the southern dynasties as at the end of Chou. Together with the barbarian rule in the north, it made the landscape cult of the Six Dynasties an almost exclusively southern phenomenon. In painting, the northern contribution began very early after the collapse of Han—it is recorded that the ruler of the Wei kingdom at the mid-third century, Ts'ao Mao, painted "the Flow of the Yellow River"<sup>23</sup>—and then was interrupted by invasions until the latter part of the sixth. The pace of the southern advance was maintained by famous figures in every century, at the head of numerous lesser men. It was set first in the later fourth by one of the greatest of all, Ku K'ai-chih.

A great deal has been written about Ku, and most of it shows him as anything but a daring innovator. His chief interest was in the field of figure painting and portraiture, in the departments which had been honored beyond all others under the Han, and so must have been strongly entrenched in respectable traditions. His essay on painting, *Lun Hua*, accords a relative importance to landscape, placing it above animals, terraces, and buildings in difficulty of conception and execution; the top rank is still held by human beings. This very conservatism makes the few signs of an altered emphasis all the more important. A striking change from the Han is obvious in the record of his having painted a friend against the background of a grotto; stating as his reason that "The man himself has said that he was at his best with a hill or ravine; so it's only proper to set him in the midst of grottoes and gullies." Here the humanistic prejudice has been assailed at its strongest point, the por-

21. Quoted by Margouliès, *Évolution de la prose artistique chinoise*, Munich, 1929. Hsieh Ling-yün seems to have satisfied his wanderlust with a minimum of discomfort; his biography in the Sung dynastic history tells how his disciples, to the number of several hundred, would accompany him in his search for lonely summits, felling trees and opening passages (cited by Aoki, *op. cit.*, see note 2).

22. From his biography in the ninth-century history of painting, *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, vi, by Chang Yen-yün.

23. *Ibid.*, iv. This would be far from early in landscape painting history if one could accept the evidence for a well-known story. The *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, iv, under the Ch'in dynasty (221-206), tells of a certain Lieh I who was sent to the court of the First Emperor by way of tribute in 220 B.C., from a realm called Chien-chüan. "He would fill his mouth with red or black, and then spit against a wall,

to make dragons and animals. With a finger he could measure off the ground as if he were using a plumb-line. His circles and squares were all as if made by compass and rule. In the space of a square inch he set the Five Peaks and the Four Seas, with every territory in its place . . ." This is quoted (very carelessly) from a work by Wang Chia (-386 A.D.), the *Shih I Chi*, a highly uncritical collection of traditions. The degree of credence which the tale merits is lowered even further by its sequel; that Lieh I also made the First Emperor two jade tigers, each with a single lacquered eye. Unaccountably they flew off; the next year two white tigers were sent as tribute from Turkestan, each with a single eye. They were killed to satisfy the ruler's curiosity, and when dissected, proved to be really Lieh I's jade carvings (quoted by Omura, *Shina-bijitsushi*, Chōchōhen, p. 37).

trait. Elsewhere Ku gives a description of a real or imagined picture under the title "How to Paint the Cloud-terrace Mountain," in which the setting for a group of Taoist adepts—on a dizzy height among the peach-trees of longevity—is vividly suggested: "I would make purple rocks looking something like solid clouds, five or six of them astride the hill. And ascending between them there should be shapes that writhe and coil like dragons . . ." <sup>24</sup>

In the total effect of such a scene, the landscape would have had a new importance. Yet one may reasonably imagine that its character would not have been too far from the spirit of Han, turning the natural forms into abstractions, and little interested in sober reality. A landscape poem by Ku states a similar romantic improbability:

A thousand cliffs vie in beauty,  
Ten thousand gorges compete in their rushing;  
The grasses and trees which screen them  
Are like rising clouds and dense vapors.

The T'ang dynasty still knew an existing six-panel landscape screen by Ku K'ai-chih, but nothing is told of its subject matter.

There is already less Taoist fantasy and more of the awakening cult of Nature in the record that his contemporary Tai K'uei (395) painted the "Streams, Hills, and Homesteads of the Land of Wu"; while the latter's son P'o did "Famous Mountains of the Nine Provinces," and "Wind, Clouds, Water, and Moon," and is said to have excelled Ku in landscape. <sup>25</sup> Thereafter, references to paintings of Chinese scenery become increasingly common. By the mid-fifth century, as we have seen, the cult had produced a prototype for all later artist philosophers in Tsung Ping, who when he could no longer wander bodily in the wilderness, consoled his old age by meditating on the *Tao* and by recreating the forms he had loved in painting.

Under Tsung Ping's name there is preserved a so-called "Preface to Landscape Painting," in which the point of view of the creative nature worshipper is already well expressed. <sup>26</sup> The whole treatise is interesting both for its historical primacy in the field of theory, and for its own sake. I have appended a translation at the end of this article. One cannot be sure of following Tsung Ping's thought everywhere, but its sense is clear enough in crucial passages. "Landscapes have a material existence, and yet reach also into a spiritual domain." The wild beauty of their forms, the "peaks and precipices rising sheer and high, the cloudy forest lying dense and vast," have brought to the wise and virtuous recluses of the past an unending pleasure, "a joy which is of the soul and of the soul only." One approach to the *Tao* is by inward concentration alone; another, almost the same, is through the beauty of mountains and water. "In such a way the beauty of Mount Sung and Mount Hua, the very mystery of the Dark Spirit of the Universe, all may be captured within a single picture." In statements such as these, the sublimity of Nature and its representation in art are joined mystically with the eternal beyond all forms. Landscape painting becomes an aspect of Taoist practice, by an historic inevitability—as figure painting in the previous age had been monopolized by the ethical preachings of Confucius.

For the western critic, bemused by such transcendental claims, it is a healthy corrective to remember that the art for which they were made was still young and awkward. The

24. *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, v; quoted by Waley, *Introduction to the History of Chinese Painting*, New York, 1923, pp. 49-50.

25. *Li Tai*, v; Waley, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

26. *Li Tai*, vi. Translated very badly by Sirén, *The*

*Chinese on the Art of Painting*, Peiping, 1936, pp. 14-16; and much more satisfactorily by S. Sakanishi, *The Spirit of the Brush (Wisdom of the East Series)*, London, 1939, pp. 37 ff. It will be seen that my own rendering varies from hers only occasionally.



theory itself is in a tentative stage, in comparison with later essays on landscape. Problems which will become critical to the Sung are slurred over. Tsung Ping is sure that "the soul (or divine principle), though in the truest sense without limits, yet dwells in forms and stirs them to its likeness. Truth enters into appearances and images; and surely to be able to copy these in wondrous fashion is to exhaust (all that they may contain)." But the Sung critics like Ching Hao will ask, what is one copying, the inner truth or the external form alone?<sup>27</sup> Tsung Ping speaks of landscapes as "captivating" the *Tao*, using a character whose connotations are those of physical seduction. Ching Hao will use the same character to indicate the preoccupation of merely skilful painters with what is merely pretty and captivating; and he carefully contrasts beauty and essential truth. All that Tsung Ping contributes to the problems of visualizing a scene, is an insistence on proper diminution; and he has nothing to say about the problems of expression, which will later produce a whole literature on "brush" and "ink."

There is a good deal less meat and much more gristle in the essay on painting by his rival and contemporary Wang Wei. The latter, too, was a scholar-recluse and a lover of the wilderness, and had such confidence in his ability as an artist that he could write to a friend, "It is my nature to understand painting. Should it be the way the crying herons know (their course) at night, veering one after another in the line, it will be written on my heart and eye. And so with my love of mountains and water, I search and study in a single journey, and then can set down the likeness of everything."

The ninth-century critic Chang Yen-yüan speaks with approval of Wang and Tsung, admiring both the lonely purity of their lives and the sublimity of their works. "Each has his 'Preface to Painting.' Their thoughts are far reaching and their works lofty; it is hard to discuss such a matter with those who do not understand about painting." In the same lofty vein he declares that "paintings are a means of moral instruction by the examples of wise men and fools, and a source of delight to the heart. If one does not pursue the obscure and subtle to full expression in an idea, how can one achieve harmony with the divine process of change, with the operations of Heaven?"<sup>28</sup>

The intimidating mysticism of Chang Yen-yüan's panegyric is fortunately balanced by a greater sobriety in his section on landscape painting in general. We may suppose, by historic probability, that if the theory of fifth-century landscape art was not yet fully mature, its practitioners must have been even less sure of themselves, being painters still in an archaic period, experimenting in the most difficult and least tried field of representation. From actual observation of their remaining work, Chang seems to have reached the same opinion:

I have seen all the famous works from the Wei and Chin dynasties down, which are now extant. In their depiction of landscapes, the effect of the crowded peaks is like that of (the teeth of) some minutely ornamented rhinoceros horn comb. Sometimes the water could not possibly be floated on, or men are larger than mountains. As a general rule, all of them are filled out by trees and rocks, to set off the rest. The look (of the former), as they stand planted in line on the ground, is like lifted arms with outspread fingers . . .<sup>29</sup>

The qualities here suggested are those of a style which is still in many respects not very far from the highest levels of Han. There is the same indifference to natural scale; while the similes of comb teeth and spread out fingers tell of a persistent two-dimensionality. With

27. Ching Hao of the later tenth century, reputed author of a treatise called *Pi Fa Chi*, "An Account of How to Use the Brush." Translated (again badly) by Sirén, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff.; and well by Sakanishi, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 ff.

28. *Li Tai*, vi. Wang Wei's essay is translated by Sakanishi, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 ff.

29. *Li Tai*, 1, section on the depiction of mountains, water, trees, and rocks.

such an antidote, then, for the mysticism of Tsung Ping and Wang Wei, we may turn without surprise to examine the two landscape paintings which remain today as acceptable attributions to Ku K'ai-chih.<sup>30</sup>

That of the scroll of "Admonitions" in the British Museum (Fig. 11) consists of a single mountain mass, elaborate enough in itself but existing in a void without relationship to any exterior element except the proportionately gigantic figure of the archer (who, like it, is necessitated by the text). In such arbitrary scale and isolation it is no farther advanced than the magic trees of Han. The setting of the Lo goddess scroll in the Freer Gallery (assuming that as a good copy it reproduces the archaic original with some care) is presented as a great many elements—trees, peaks, bodies of water—which in general have only the remotest relationship to each other (Fig. 12). Certain formulae of illustration, which we shall see again and again in later works, hold together small areas. Figures are set in an enclosure of trees which emphasizes their spatial grouping. A river moves forward past deeply indented banks which define, for a short space, its progress through advancing planes. The mountains pile up in overlapping planes from foot-hills to wooded summits. None of these small areas has any connection except that of mere juxtaposition to the next, however; the space outside them is entirely amorphous; and even their separate advances toward coherence are so slight as to indicate a very early stage of landscape art.

The interior treatment of the "Admonitions" mountain is surprisingly different; so much so that it is hard to imagine both scrolls as the work of a single painter or indeed of the same century. Here the one striking archaism is the isolation of the whole form. Within it a perceptible effort has been made to overcome the impression of flatness which dominates the landscape of the Lo goddess. The mountain is a rather complex composite form, instead of a single silhouette or a mere series of overlapping parallel mountain-motive planes. The planes are used still; but the very meager suggestion of plasticity which they can give at best, is reinforced by a new element, a sort of plateau, a piece of three-dimensional space (so to speak) made definite by its cliff boundaries. A special version of the device, a roadway or ledge, winds back around the bases of the vertical planes to give them added plastic convincingness. These methods seem at first sight clumsy and obvious, and certainly their handling in the "Admonitions" scroll is far from effortless mastery. Yet in an art which ever since has been anxious to convey the illusion of space, and has deliberately deprived itself of the resources of modeling in light and shade, they were destined to remain in favor throughout the whole course of Far Eastern landscape painting. Thus they appear over and over again, for example, in the great Mori landscape scroll by Sesshu, with no difference beyond a greater subtlety and sureness of execution.

It is with the general purpose of estimating as far as possible the progress made during the Six Dynasties period in the organization of natural elements into something approaching a coherent landscape, that I shall discuss herewith a number of existing remains. These might be studied more closely in other ways: in the developing presentation of details, the increasing elaboration of branch and foliage formulae, the increasing variety of trees shown, the differentiation of various shapes of rock. More difficult and primary than any of these, however, is the problem of space underlying all landscape organization, the prosaic necessity of suggesting three dimensions with a technique of two; and it is to this main line of development that I shall devote my most earnest attention.

30. Data in Waley, *Introduction*, pp. 50 ff., 59 ff.—The scroll in the Freer Gallery, Washington (Fig. 12), is repro-

duced through the courtesy of the Gallery.

The evolution of any early landscape art is largely a matter of the accumulation of small, often rather puerile devices to indicate space. Much has been admirably written by Chinese and admiring westerners about the profoundly mystical relationship between Chinese landscape art and the universal Way, about that spirit-harmony without which the most skillfully executed work is in vain, about the ideal of creative spontaneity exemplified in the divine Wu Tao-tzu, who "concentrated his spirit and harmonized it with the forces of Nature." One result of this campaign has been to set the Chinese representation of Nature at a not always merited height above other landscape arts, by obscuring its humbler and more familiar processes, and to envelop it in a mystery not entirely reasonable. It is a fine story one meets in the literature of Chinese aesthetics, about the cook of Prince Hui who because he had grasped the secret of *Tao*, to know how to overcome without striving, was able to perform the most remarkable feats of dissection with his knife, apparently without effort.<sup>31</sup> Yet one may observe that the marvel is recorded of a cook, presumably the descendant of cooks and certainly the product of a long, laborious apprenticeship; it is not claimed that Prince Hui concentrated his spirit, seized the cleaver, and performed the act himself. Spontaneity comes at the end of a long period of painful accumulation, when at last so many satisfactory means are available for any artistic purpose that method need no longer be a conscious concern.

Evidence for the development of landscape painting between the fifth and seventh centuries is by no means complete, or even adequate. Progress itself must have been retarded by the concentration of creative ability in the service of formal Buddhism. The bulk of existing remains is preserved in the form of Buddhist illustration, concerned only incidentally with environment. It comprises frescoes from the far frontier station of Tun-huang, and reliefs from the north, executed in the unobling medium of stone (and reflecting an art perhaps less advanced than the southern). There is a scarcity of dates; and the monuments which can be settled in a definite year doubtless reflect at second or third hand the stages of a progress which had been passed through generations earlier in the central currents of pictorial art. Some remains of the fifth century, in the slow-moving backwaters of religious illustration, are still clearly at the stage of Han. At Yün-kang, for example, one of the cave temples contains a stone relief of the Indian world-mountain Sumeru, encircled by its giant dragons;<sup>32</sup> the details are borrowed indiscriminately from Indian and Chinese traditions, and thus recall both the Han "hill-jars" (with a tree, animal, or bird silhouetted against each mountain plane) and the animal chase. In the main, however, the illustration of Buddhist legends required a repertory of settings considerably more complicated, and an area of action more extensive, than had sufficed for the simple moral tales of Han. The minor artists whose works are preserved must have availed themselves sooner or later of every advance made by the masters toward a greater plausibility of composition.

Three early steps in the accumulation of means to suggest an ample space are set out side by side on a stele of 551 in the University of Pennsylvania Museum (Fig. 13).<sup>33</sup> In the scene which is stylistically most primitive, the figures stand on a ground-line of small hummocks, silhouetted against hills which rise immediately behind. No sense of depth exists, and the action is necessarily limited to the length of the single ground line. (With allow-

31. Found, e.g., in Chang Yen-yüan's account of the style of Wu Tao-tzu; quoted by Sirén, *History of Early Chinese Painting*, London and New York, 1933, I, p. 76.

32. Sirén, *A History of Chinese Sculpture*, London, 1925, II, pl. 37.

33. *Ibid.*, III, pl. 234. This stele, reproduced here by

courtesy of the University Museum, now bears an inscription of 1561, recording its re-dedication in that year and noting that the original inscription had been dated 551. A certain amount of re-cutting may have taken place at this time, but I see no sign that the designs of the landscape panels were altered to suit Ming taste.



ance for differences of technique and detail, this is the typical background formula of Italo-Byzantine style, and as such appears in the most primitive landscapes of the St. Francis cycle at Assisi.) Another panel, in which the figures are disposed not only across the front, but on a second plane as if they were standing on the crest of the hills, carries the possibilities of two-dimensional design to their limit. The same rather feeble expedient has occurred often to artists of limited means in the West, in ancient and medieval times. A third scene adopts an ingenious device which places the whole problem on a new basis; the background hills are moved away from the ground line, and a wide stage of convincing depth is secured by setting a small building at an angle between. This is a variant of the stratagem used in the scroll of "Admonitions," a marking off of space by some well-bounded element running back through planes of distance. The same small house, or its derivative group of buildings, will be a favorite device in later centuries both in China and in Japan, to lend something of the persuasive solidity of architecture to the painted landscapes surrounding it. (It is also the means used by Taddeo Gaddi in his Baroncelli Chapel fresco of "St. Benedict as Hermit," to expand the Giottesque tradition.)

A crude solution of a different sort appears in what is commonly thought to be the earliest remaining set of frescoes at Tun-huang, those of cave 110, attributed by Bachhofer to the last decade of the fifth century (Fig. 14).<sup>34</sup> Here the long frieze is subdivided by a succession of diagonal lines, along each of which is erected a miniature range of mountains. In addition a similar range runs all along the bottom boundary as a crude repoussoir. The frieze is thus parceled out into areas of action, with something like a ground on which the figures and animals of the *Jātaka* tales may stand. The formality of the scheme is stressed by the dark ground, and a conventional alternation of colors along the line of peaks (this a decorative formula, which also was destined to have a long history).

A step beyond the clumsy repetition of diagonals may be seen in the landscapes of cave 135 at Tun-huang, placed by Bachhofer in the first half of the sixth (Fig. 21).<sup>35</sup> The basis of design is again a flat area made definite by mountain boundaries; but these ranges run at different angles, producing fields of action which are variously curved or trapezoidal in form. There is still no horizon beyond the peaks; figures and trees are still disproportionately large. The meaning of the bounded areas is not even consistently limited to level ground, for in one case—otherwise quite like the rest—it signifies a chasm into which the martyr Bodhisattva is hurling himself. This peculiar type of schematized landscape seems clearly too formal to have made any permanent contribution to a developing art. Its curious, almost geometrical layout may indeed be not Chinese at all in origin, but actually an attempt to soften and enliven the absolute diagonal rigidity of the landscape *Jātaka* cycle as it was developed further west in Turkestan (Fig. 15).<sup>36</sup> It should be remembered, all the same; for its essential feature, the subdivision of the setting by long ranges of mountains running in various directions at angles to the picture plane, will be essential also in the climax of T'ang landscape at Tun-huang, though in much more sophisticated form.

34. L. Bachhofer, "Die Raumdarstellung der chinesischen Malerei des ersten Jahrtausends," *Münchener Jahrbuch*, n. f. VIII, 1931, 208; dated on "stylistic grounds."

35. *Ibid.*, p. 207; dated by comparison of the donors below the landscape panel with those on dated Buddhist steles of the 530's.

36. Cf. A. Grünwedel, *Alt-kutscha*, Berlin, 1920, II, 57 ff., figs. 42-45; also E. Waldschmidt in von le Coq's *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, Neue Bildwerke, II, Berlin, 1929. The chronological table given in *ibid.*, III, 1933, p. 27, sets the frescoes of this cave, the "Schluchthöhle," Ming Oi, Qyzyl, around 600-50. The subject

matter of this elaborate *Jātaka* series is of course Indian, but the setting seems related to the other great source of early Turkestan style, the Iranian tradition. As possible evidence for the lost Iranian prototype I suggest: 1) the superimposed mountain-crenellation friezes of Parthian date from Assur, mentioned in note 16 above; 2) the fragmentary bath fresco at Qusayr 'Amra, from the early eighth century, in which continuous diagonals divide the field into diamond-shaped areas, each containing the figure of an animal, bird, or human (Glück and Diez, *Kunst des Islam*, pl. 143).



Fig. 13—Philadelphia, University Museum: Stele with Scenes of Jātaka Tales, 551 A.D.

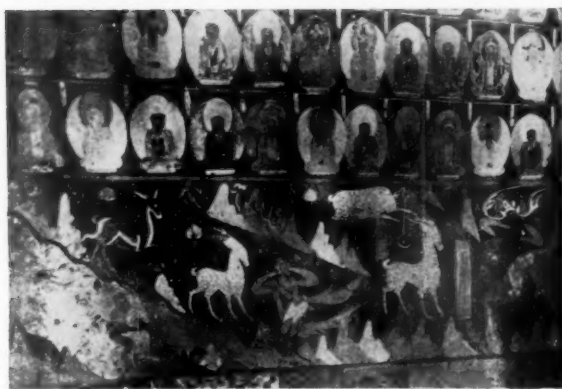


Fig. 14—Tun-huang, Cave 110: Jātaka Tale, Detail of Wall Painting, V A.D.

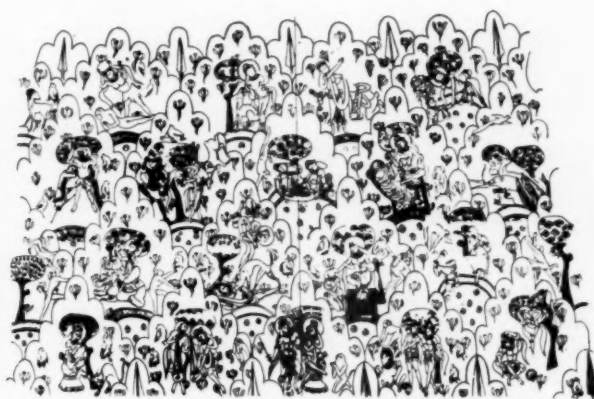


Fig. 15—Qyzyl, Chinese Turkestan, Buddhist Cave: Jātaka Tale, Detail of Wall Painting, VII A.D.

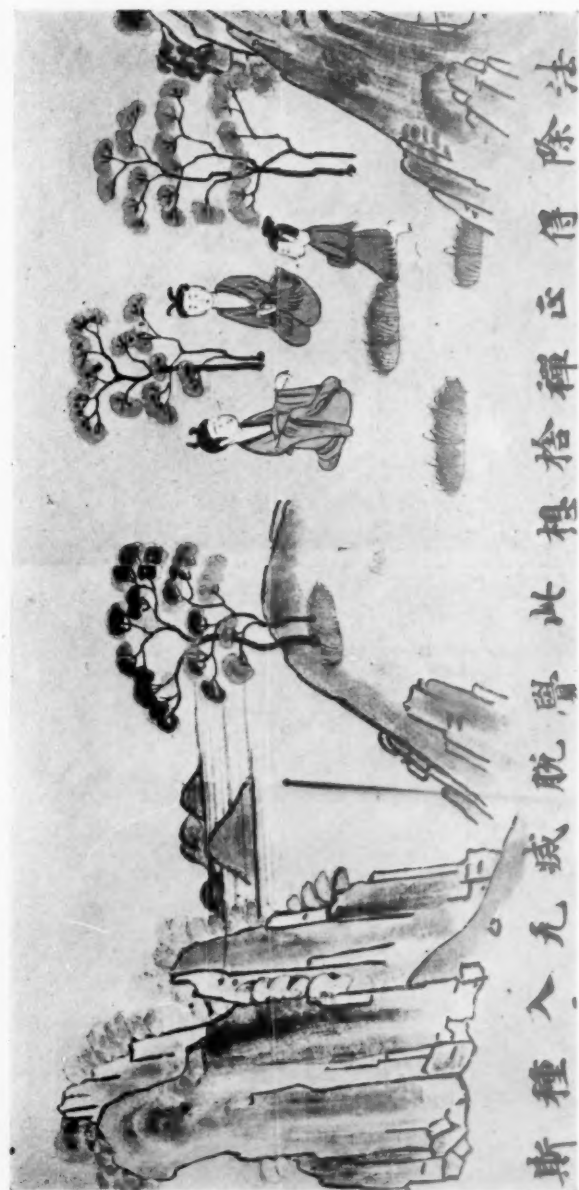


Fig. 16—Owned by Jōbonrendaiji



Fig. 17—Owned by Daigoji Hōōnin

FIGS. 16-17—KYŌTO, MUSEUM: DETAILS OF ILLUSTRATED SŪTRA OF THE BUDDHA'S LIFE, INGAKYŌ



The same cave 135 contains, as an alternative setting, the device of the field expanded by architecture which we have seen in the stele of 551. This version is interesting in several ways. In the first place, the repetition side by side of several almost identical complexes of mountain, house, and ground, is handled with a proper archaic sense of formal pattern. Again the painted example, naturally, shows a greater continuity and interrelationship than could the relief. In each complex the mountain rises as a roughly pyramidal form, its low base serving as a foreground repoussoir. The pavilion, partly hidden by a shoulder of rock, creates a sense of recession which not only provides level ground for the figure action but suggests as well that the mountain rising behind it is at the same time running back into depth. Manifestly archaic features of the scheme are the inability to present any kind of stop or horizon at the rear, and the building up of each mountain in what is still essentially the manner of the Han "hill jars," by superposition of large, simple, triangular forms, differentiated by a conventional alternation of colors.

A further advance within the same general scheme toward more sophisticated landscape is provided by the various early Japanese copies of the Buddhist "Sūtra of Rewards and Punishments," *Ingakyō*, an illustrated life of the historical Buddha (Figs. 16 and 17).<sup>37</sup> It is generally agreed that these copies were made at Nara around the middle of the eighth century, but with considerable fidelity to an earlier prototype imported from China. Various details have been brought up to date, notably costume and architecture; the landscape settings have remained much more archaic than a proper eighth-century style, and resemble the frescoes of cave 135 closely enough to suggest a similar sixth-century attribution for their Chinese original.<sup>38</sup> Differences between the scrolls and the wall paintings are doubtless due to the greater geographical closeness of the former to the main currents of sixth-century painting. The artist's repertory is noticeably wider. The great number of more or less adequate formulae which he uses to define a limited space stands in contrast to the comparative poverty of Tun-huang and the usual bas-reliefs. By comparison to the almost complete incoherence of the Lo goddess scroll, it suggests the advances made in two centuries or so in the use of landscape as a setting for figure action.

To add a larger rhythm to what might otherwise seem a rather confusing succession of small elements, the designer of the *Ingakyō* has punctuated his scroll sequences by a series of big landscape masses, irregularly set so as not to interfere with the varying spatial requirements of the story. In general these are rocky crags, rising roughly pyramidal from the lower border but of widely varying shapes; in execution the Tempyō period copies show traces of a knowledge of T'ang technique, but the forms themselves are clearly of the same sort as those of the cave frescoes. Elsewhere, especially in the scenes showing the early life of Prince Siddhartha in his father's city, the same effect of rhythmic alternation is given by long, swelling contours, which actually represent the far edge of a sort of low plateau and

37. Facsimiles of several of the *Ingakyō* scrolls have been made in Japan, while selections from the best known—belonging to the Tōkyō Fine Arts School, and to two temples near Kyōtō, Daigoji Hōōnin and Jōbonrendaiji—are published in the series *Nihonga-taisei*, xvi, Tōkyō, 1931, first volume on Buddhist paintings, 46–57. The scroll formerly owned by Kōfukuji (now in the Maeda collection) has a fragmentary date: "... month, seventh day, copyist of the Junior Eighth Rank." Scribes seem to have been assigned ranks first in the Tempyō era (729–48), and the work is generally considered to date from that generation. In the diary *Sanetaka-kōki*, an entry for 1528 states that the writer, Sanjō-nishi Sanetaka, had had the honor of inspecting an illustrated *Ingakyō* scroll, written by the

Emperor Shōmu in 735 (an indication of the popularity of the sūtra, no more; information from S. Nakai, "Studies on the Ingwa Kyo scroll" [in Japanese], *Bukkyō-bijisū*, v, Dec. 1925). The sūtra was translated into Chinese for the first time by the Indian missionary Gunabhadra, in 435–43, in south China.

38. While secular costume has been brought up to date in the Japanese versions, the specifically religious iconography seems to have been treated with more respect. In the scene of the Temptation, the robes of the daughters of Mara look pre-T'ang; and the Bodhisattva dress of Gautama before his Enlightenment resembles that of later sixth-century Chinese sculpture rather than T'ang.

thus provide bounded level ground for figure action. Between these large masses, the terrain has commonly no other boundary than trees, set in groups beside or behind the figures and suggesting a limited depth by the same means as in the Lo goddess scroll (Fig. 12). Here a device has been added to strengthen one's sense of level ground extending backward, a spotting of grass clumps; particularly so as to establish a sort of foreground repoussoir line.

There is constant evidence that the designer is trying to break through the limitations of the archaic picture plane. His figures are generally placed in an accentuated spatial relationship; a procession of ox-carts moves along not in one straight line but on a sharp curve which comes out of depth and then returns. Buildings are shown facing both forward and to the side, in bird's-eye view. As devices for creating space, they are more elaborate than before. One composition represents a palace approached through a gate in a fence; the latter begins behind a foreground rock and runs back to end against another rock in middle distance, marking off by architectural means a good deal of depth. In another scene, a towered gateway leads into a palace courtyard partly hidden by a foreground rock mass; at the rear two buildings are set on different planes and at different angles. Again, the mountain may be opened up by a ravine leading back between sheer cliffs, through which a figure passes (a well-known trick of the Sienese Trecento).

It is an obvious weakness of the *Ingakyō* style that like the Tun-huang fresco it loses definition behind a fairly close middle distance, and ordinarily no farther space or any horizon is visualized. Only one scene is exceptional in showing a surprising view between the near mountain masses, toward far-off hill-tops emerging above horizontal lines of cloud (Fig. 16). This is, so far, our first far distance. It is memorable also for what it was intended to suggest. The text which runs below is concerned for some distance to right and left with the interview between Prince Siddhartha and the *rishi* Alāra, one of the former's abortive attempts to discover the way of deliverance between his flight from the palace and his final enlightenment.<sup>39</sup> The hermit is explaining the four ascending stages of meditative ecstasy; immediately below the ravine with its distant prospect, the wording runs: "Separating oneself from sensuous imaginings, one enters the realm of emptiness; suppressing all idea of limitations, one enters the realm of understanding; suppressing all understanding of infinite multitude and looking only on an understanding of the One, one enters the realm of nothingness. Separating oneself from thought of every kind one enters the realm of neither thinking nor not thinking . . ."

Much later the Ch'an painters will try to suggest the inexpressible by an empty circle, or even an absolute blank. It seems to me a remarkable sign of the strength of the nature cult in sixth-century China that it should have been able to set its stamp in this way even on Buddhist iconography. The clumsy little vignette in the *Ingakyō* equating natural space with the infinite Unity, has all the essential content of the mature landscape mysticism of Sung.

The representation of details in the *Ingakyō* is still archaic in many respects (while others, like the quite successful plasticity of some of the mountain forms, seem improvements of the eighth century). Individual trees are very much generalized. The artist is interested in none of the things which will attract later men. The whole shape has neither the decorative organization of Han nor the dramatic quality which later generations will seek. There is no interest in roots, or bark texture, or any special effectiveness of foliage.

39. A general idea of the sequence of events at this stage in the life of Gautama may be gained from Wiegner, *A History of the Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Opinions of*

*the Chinese*, Hsien-hsien, 1927, pp. 456-59 (which seems to be derived from the same sūtra or one like it).

Leaves are dabbed on in solid blobs of color; the trunk is drawn in a single brush-stroke. Even different species are distinguished only in summary fashion, where the T'ang style will take pains to group and separate clearly. The whole tree is thoroughly two-dimensional. Trees intended as a far-distant type are clustered up and down the mountain silhouettes like fungi, without any trunks showing; the formula had been used in the Lo goddess scroll, and is a good index of archaic indifference to plasticity (contrasting with the T'ang carefulness in distributing its trees both in front of and behind the edge, to suggest roundness).

A final detail of interest is the curiously contorted and eroded small vertical rock which occasionally appears in the more civilized settings. It is unquestionably the typical Chinese garden rock, the scholar's delight, which today has driven everything else out of Peking gardens as we are told the common hare or rabbit was once well on the way to doing in Australia. Perhaps the earliest known appearance of a peculiarly Chinese art form, it is also a reminder of the progress of garden design during the Six Dynasties.

By far the most accomplished landscapes in the remaining art of the Six Dynasties are those engraved on the two sides of a stone sarcophagus which is now the property of the Nelson Art Gallery in Kansas City (Figs. 19 and 20).<sup>40</sup> The subjects of the drawings are the same Confucian anecdotes of filial piety which had been fashionable sepulchral ornaments in Han. Designs and execution are of so remarkably high a quality that the work seems to me a direct copy of some first-class painting of the theme, made probably during the second quarter of the sixth century, in close chronological relationship to the work of contemporary masters. The figure style, even in the difficult medium of stone, has much of the elegance and swift-moving grace of the "Admonitions" scroll, with an added touch of flamboyance which belongs to its period. The same characteristics of a court art at its best appear in the settings, with an elaboration and a sureness of handling which would have been impossible in the age of Ku K'ai-chih. There is no sharp break with the past, but an advance is obvious in every branch of landscape representation, beyond any work so far considered.

The scenes are still set in the immediate foreground, at large scale, and the arrangement of the figures and their enclosure by trees and rocks is only a much more successful application of methods already seen in the *Ingakyō* and even in the Lo goddess scroll. In addition, however, the artist has now made a definite attempt to break through into distances hitherto unexplored. In several scenes a range of far-off hills appears above the nearer action, rising out of layers of cloud. This is clearly a preliminary step toward the representation of a complete landscape. The prime difficulty of managing a transition between near and far is avoided by obliterating the intermediate planes, partly behind high foreground elements and partly by clouds.

In the scene illustrating the story of the virtuous Wang Lin, an even more ambitious experiment is made (Fig. 20). The picture separates into two similar halves, showing different moments of the same episode, with the settings varied slightly for a purely decorative interest. On the outside a group of figures is placed emerging from a narrow defile between precipitous peaks; on the inside the same group, with backs turned, is retracing its steps. In the *Ingakyō* as well, figures are shown as if walking back between mountains, but by much

40. Reproductions from rubbings, together with an excellent critique in Japanese, have been published by Okumura in *Hōun*, xx and in his personal publication *Urinasu*, iv (both Kyōtō, 1937). The slabs are reputed to have come from the same tomb in the Lo-yang region which has produced a stone dated 522, bearing a funerary eulogy of the lady Yüan-shih. Okumura for stylistic reasons believes

that the sarcophagus, of which the Nelson slabs represent the two long sides, dates somewhat later, and so may have belonged to the husband or to a near relative who was buried in the same tomb. He discusses the stone of 522 in *Urinasu*, 1. The sarcophagus slabs were shown in the Chinese exhibition in London in 1935-36, and are published in its catalogue, *The Chinese Exhibition*, nos. 2381, 2473.



more archaic means. One rock shape merely overlaps the other, and the figure is drawn at half-length between. The scheme is almost purely formal, since it is impossible to imagine any real distance between the shapes. In this case, on the contrary, the defile leads straight back, its walls closing in on either side in a simulated perspective. The impression of actual space is heightened by showing the advancing figures between the twin trunks of a tree growing in front of them; and the artist has even attempted the complete foreshortening of a horse and rider, seen first from the front and then from the rear, a naïve audacity typical of periods of experimentation with the illusion of three-dimensionality.<sup>41</sup> It should be noticed, all the same, that the *arroyo* road leads back only a relatively short distance—the formula is too awkward for more extensive use—and that the terrain beyond is conveniently masked by clouds until one reaches the far distant hills at the top.

Further details of the sarcophagus drawings are of great interest. Scale relationships are conventional still, but comparatively plausible. The very important problem of the scale of foreground elements to the height of the whole picture is handled, again, with relative maturity. In earlier and more archaic landscapes like those of the Lo goddess scroll, the unreality of the scene is emphasized by the minuteness of all of its elements, which seem—in so far as they have any existence—to be far away and unrelated to the spectator. In the stage beyond the sarcophagus landscapes, it has been discovered that an apparent closeness of the scene to the spectator is a potent aid to plausibility; to draw him as close as possible in imagination, the foreground elements are made very large, and trees will project boldly through the top frame. I know this stage in the West for the first time in Piero della Francesca's "Baptism"; in China it was probably delayed until Sung. The sarcophagus stage is that immediately preceding, in which the trees are noticeably large, but remain enclosed by the frame, as with Fra Angelico.

A parallel with the West around 1400 suggests itself for more than one reason. The figures have the gaiety and light grace of the International Style, in Chinese dress, with a proper feeling for sumptuous decoration. The landscape is well placed as a Chinese pendant to Fra Angelico and Masolino, with a touch of Uccello in the foreshortened horseman. The story-book charm of an art halting briefly between childhood and maturity is that of the Tyrolean Runkelstein Castle frescoes, or of the last black-figured drawings in Athens about 500. Chang Yen-yüan, the ninth-century critic, pays tribute to the attractiveness of what he calls "the art of middle antiquity," as being "detailed, delicate, and most charming";<sup>42</sup> and in so doing epitomizes a whole phase of stylistic evolution, rather than the Chinese version alone.

While the Nelson slabs have many parallels in the general qualities which mark the end of an archaic period, their details are of course specifically Chinese. In one respect the contrast with the West is immediate. The landscapes here are suffused with an extraordinary sense of tumultuous activity, blowing scarves, wind-whipped foliage, birds streaking across a sky filled with scudding clouds. There is no justification for such emphatic movement in the stories told. It represents, instead, a final phase of a linear dynamism inherited from Han; and so stands in proper sequence with the wild activity of the animal chase, the lines of pure motion which pursue each other around Han lacquer bowls, and the fluttering ribbons of Ku K'ai-chih. The earliest Buddhist frescoes at Tun-huang retain the same quality. It comes to an end with the solid realities of T'ang.

41. The figure of a cavalier seen head on appears again in the upper left-hand corner of the section of frescoes in

cave 135, Tun-huang (see Pelliot, *Grottes*, pl. cclxxx).

42. *Li Tai*, I, in his discussion of the "Six Laws."

One of the most profitable indices of a developing landscape art is the degree of recognition which it gives to the infinite variety and multiplicity of Nature. Here once more the Nelson slabs stand on a new level. The few trees are carefully individualized, instead of repeating one or two general types as they do in the *Ingakyō*. The differentiation applies to sizes and shapes and character—a smallish, gnarled cypress, for example, alongside a tall, slender variety—and beyond this, to leaves, and even to bark texture. Within a single tree there is not only more natural variety and accident in the placing of branches than before, but there may be also the stressed contrast of a broken limb in the midst of the others. There are various types of low grasses and underbrush. The rocks are divided into horizontal and vertical forms; both classes in their flinty angularity stand out against the long, flowing curves of the ground lines, and so stand unmistakably for hard rock rather than soft earth. A final note of incidental interest is given by the deer which graze in the foreground—without reference to any story—and which will be repeated over and over for the same purpose by later atelier tradition, both in China and Japan.

The masters whom Chang Yen-yüan names as the typical exponents of his style of "middle antiquity," Chan Tzu-ch'ien and Cheng Fa-shih, belonged to the latter part of the sixth century. One may imagine their carrying the qualities of the sarcophagus scenes to an even higher point of elegance and elaboration. In view of the remarkable experiments in space representation which are made on the sarcophagus, it is particularly interesting to find Chang Yen-yüan stating that the former's "landscapes (held) a thousand *li* within a scant foot"; while a Sung opinion amplifies the praise to say that "in representing rivers and mountains, his effects of far distance and nearness were particularly skilful, so that in a scant foot there was the feeling of a thousand *li*."<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, Chang Yen-yüan's account of the progress of landscape painting in general suggests that the final, minutely ornamental phase of the archaic continued well past the Six Dynasties period into Sui and T'ang (well past the emergence of a "classic" figure style), becoming more and more a stagnant backwater, from which the art could be freed only by the violent attacks of genius. His judgment on the landscapes of early T'ang bears with it a reminiscence of the sarcophagus style; his disapproval implicates not the late archaic style as a whole, but only its last stage of ingrowing decadence.

At the beginning of the present dynasty (618–), the two Yen (brothers, Li-pen and Li-te) brought their individual beauties to the art, while Yang (Ch'i-tan) and Chan (Tzu-ch'ien) concentrated their thoughts upon palaces and Taoist retreats. So gradually these accessories (i.e. the elements of the earliest landscape style, the branches like outspread fingers, etc.) were altered. Nevertheless, in shaping their rocks they still did their best to hollow them out as if they were of ice, melting into axe-sharp edges; and in painting their trees, they still (as it were) scraped out the fibers and engraved the leaves, (favoring) for the most part the paulownia and luxuriant willows. This doubling of effort brought (really) a greater ineptitude, and was not worth the colors.<sup>44</sup>

Chang Yen-yüan goes on to name Wu Tao-tzu as the genius whose revolutionary methods stimulated Chinese landscape painting to renewed efforts in a more profitable direction in the eighth century—much as the influence of Masaccio goaded Florentine art out of the lingering prettiness of the International Style.

The qualities of archaic landscape painting at the very end of the Six Dynasties period, in the last quarter of the sixth century, may be imagined by a collation of evidence from various sources. Its ornamental emphasis is already suggested in the Nelson slabs, as the

43. *Ibid.*, VIII; Sung comment from the catalogue of the collection of Emperor Hui Tsung (1101–26), the *Hsüan Ho*

*Hua P'u Hsü Chien*, I.

44. *Li Tai*, I, in section on landscape painting.

final exaggeration was to be criticized by Chang Yen-yüan. Its tradition must have been continued in the formal, highly colored, courtier's landscape perfected by Wu Tao-tzu's rival, Li Ssu-hsün; and as such is more or less obscurely visible in the many later versions of the "blue and green" school, with their conservative repertory of Taoist fairyland mountains. We very probably see the lingering influence of its insistence on decorative richness, in the many landscape vignettes painted in gold and silver on mid-eighth-century objects in the Shōsōin treasury in Japan. An earlier work, finally, which seems explainable as a provincial reflection of the same ideal, is the celebrated Tamamushi shrine, on the altar of the Hōryūji "golden hall." Tradition places this in the first quarter of the seventh century;<sup>45</sup> the time-lag involved in transmission from China through Korea to Japan must have been very great at the time, so that the hypothetical Chinese prototype may well have been roughly contemporary with the Nelson slabs. The landscape elements used on the shrine, once more for Buddhist illustration, show an extreme of decorative conventionalization, both in the shapes of rocks and trees and in the use of gold outlines against a dark ground, denying almost all space.

All the landscapes that we have seen so far have been restricted by the necessities of story-telling. They have represented more or less skilfully a side issue to the development of landscape for its own sake; to the sort of painting which we know only by title, but which in name, at least, seems to have been almost wholly undisturbed by figure action. The walls of Tsung Ping's house in the fifth century, with the painted record of his wanderings in the wilderness, must have been work of this sort, with no more insistent reference to humanity than was permitted in later ages; the fisherman or traveler, tiny in the midst of immensity. One can perhaps imagine works of this type—with the reiterated vastness and multiplicity, the "thousand peaks and ten thousand gorges" of the poems—by reference to one more, quite unexpected, source of evidence. The Government General Museum of Chōsen at Keijō possesses a series of square tile plaques, excavated from a tomb within the boundaries of the ancient kingdom of Pekche.<sup>46</sup> There is a wide variety of ornamental treatments based on the medallion, which may be filled by the Buddhist lotus or by various Chinese motives, swirling spirals, the dragon, or the phoenix. Several of the plaques retain the square frame and make use of landscape elements. Two of these last are almost "pure" landscapes (Fig. 18), filled with tree-topped peaks and terminated by scudding clouds. Details are not unlike those of the Nelson slabs, with allowance for differences of size and technique. There is a similar distinction between the horizontal stratification of rock croppings at the bottom, and stiff vertical chimneys; in addition the Pekche plaques use a middle distance type of rounded mountain silhouette. The clouds are almost identical. The scale is that of a broad panorama with many crowding peaks, within which even architecture is dwarfed. Persistent archaism—a general flatness, trees protruding from the edges of the peaks only, the up-setting of size relationships by a too-large figure of a monk—does not prevent the compositions from being reminiscent of a real (if somewhat fantastic) scene. The only date possible

45. The mid-thirteenth century *Kokon-mokurokushō*, an extensive compilation of Hōryūji records and traditions, states that the Tamamushi shrine had been in the possession of Empress Suikō (r. 592–628), and came into the charge of Hōryūji "at the time of the burning of Tachibanadera" (a rival temple, probably in 681). It seems to be listed, as a "palace shrine," in the inventory of Hōryūji properties made in 747, the *Hōryūji-garan-engi-narabini-shizaichō*. It is as difficult to accept the thirteenth-century tradition with complete faith as it is to believe that Con-

stantine built all the basilicas and ordered all the great pictorial cycles of Christian art which are piously ascribed to him. In this case, fortunately, the problem is less serious, since the shrine must belong to the seventh century, at least, for stylistic reasons.

46. Published in the catalogue of the museum for 1938, vol. xii; Japanese title, *Hakubutsukan-chinretsu-zūkan*. Found at Gairi, Kigammen, Huyō district, south Chūsei province.



is by a stylistic attribution to the late archaic, which in Korea doubtless persisted longer than in China proper. The kingdom of Pekche was in fairly close contact with all of the southern dynasties, by water, and is known to have depended on south Chinese assistance in its arts during the sixth century.<sup>47</sup>

Throughout almost all of its history, Chinese painting has remained dependent on the memory image. One of its cardinal principles, indeed, has been the transformation of Nature by the creative mind; and this insistence alone has greatly retarded the progress of Chinese art toward realism. The degree of dependence on memory, and the quality of the memory itself, have passed through a perceptible evolution, however. The reminiscences of Nature which lie behind a work like the Lo goddess scroll are naïvely superficial, transforming the complex and multifarious into a childish simplicity. We must imagine a greater interest in the details and variations of landscape, and a greater power of mental assimilation, for enthusiasts like Tsung Ping and Wang Wei. But what we know of their art from literary sources, indicates that it was still the product of pure imaginative reconstruction, carried out perhaps a long time after the preliminary stage of seeing. The width of the gap between the object in Nature and its presentation in art, is here the measure of an archaic style; and in the small tile landscape from Korea, the gap is still very wide. One of the reasons for the rapid advance of landscape painting from the tenth century on, will be the narrowing of the interval. Ching Hao in his "Account of How to Use the Brush" speaks of the impression made on his imagination by a wild mountain scene into which he once stumbled; and how he went back the next day with his brush, and made innumerable sketches. By the Yüan dynasty, Huang Kung-wang will say, "Those who study painting will do well to carry a brush about with them, so that they may make sketches of beautiful views, or of strange varieties of trees."<sup>48</sup> The final painting will still be a synthetic product, but one immeasurably richer—and closer to actuality—for the change in artistic method.

Perhaps the most vivid evidence for the swift advance of the cult of Nature during the Six Dynasties is furnished by the art of garden making. We saw that under the Han the great imperial and princely parks were half hunting preserves and half a semi-magical imitation of the fairyland of the Immortals. By the sixth century, the cult of the wilderness, of the lonely hermitage, of height and steepness, of rock and forest and water, had gained so much prestige that it no longer represented the dreams of the discontented and dispossessed alone; it was fashionable, and an exciting new interest for the great and secure, at home in cities and courts. The sixth-century description of the Northern Wei capital, Lo-yang, contains a perfect illustration of the result.<sup>49</sup> The Minister of Agriculture under the Emperor Hsiao Ming (516-27), one Chang Lun, by nature gay and extravagant, a great fancier of mansions, robes, and equipages, had also a taste for garden making; to which he brought such enthusiasm that his parks, groves, hills, and streams were more beautiful than those of any notables of the time:

He built up a mountain called Ching-yang as if it were a work of Nature, with piled-up peaks and multiple ranges rising in steep succession, with deep ravines and caverns and gullies tortuously

47. According to the history of the ancient Korean kingdoms, *Samguksagi*, section on Pekche, 19th year of King Song (541), that monarch sent a mission to the Liang court at Nanking, bearing tribute and asking that he be sent someone versed in the "Poetry Classic," an exposition of the *Nirvana Sūtra*, and architects and master painters. Furthermore, Sekino T. has demonstrated that the unusual flat tiles found in a large tomb near the old Pekche capital of Kongju—probably belonging to a king of this same

general period—have almost exact duplicates at Nanking, and may well have been imported (*Hōun*, x, 1934, 23 ff.).

48. Ching Hao: cf. Sirén, *Chinese on the Art of Painting*, p. 234; Huang Kung-wang, *ibid.*, p. 112.

49. *Lo-yang Ch'ieh Lan Chih*, II (by Yang Hsüan-chih of Northern Wei); quoted in a collection of historical references to the evolution of garden making (in Chinese) in the *Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture*, IV, 1934, 225.

linked. So lofty were the forests, so gigantic the trees that sun and moon could not penetrate their shadowed obscurity; so luxuriant were the vines and creepers in their festooning as to control the passage of wind and mist. The craggy mountain paths across the rocks would seem to stop short and then go forward again, the precipitous torrents to turn on their course and then straighten. Here the (Taoist) adepts, the lovers of mountains and wilderness, might have roamed until they quite forgot to return to their heaven . . . Here was the ideal of the escapists, the visible likeness of all they favored . . .

The romantic Chinese landscape, with all its connotations of wildness and peril and its deliberate opposition to the standards of civilized mankind, has here become a respectable element of social life. In the T'ang dynasty, landscape painting will be carried by masters like Li Ssu-hsün, Wu Tao-tzu, and Wang Wei to full parity with the ancient figure-painting tradition. In the Sung it will finally pass its rival once and for all, to become the quintessence of pictorial ideals.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

### EXCURSUS

TSUNG PING'S "PREFACE TO LANDSCAPE PAINTING"

(*Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, VI)

"The sages harbor the *Tao* (within them) while they adapt themselves to the objective (world); the virtuous purify their affections while they relish represented forms. As for landscapes, they have a material existence and yet also reach into a spiritual (domain). That is why Hsien Yüan, Yao and K'ung, Kuang Ch'eng, Ta Wei, Hsü Yu, Ku Chu, and the like had to wander through the mountains of K'ung-t'ung, Chü-tz'u, Miao-ku, Chi-shou, and Ta-meng; and thus one speaks of 'the pleasures taken by the good and the wise' (in mountains and water). The sages follow after the *Tao* in their souls, and the virtuous have understanding; landscapes captivate the *Tao* by their forms, and the good take their pleasure therein. Is this not almost the same thing?

"(Here am) I, longing for the Lu and Heng (mountains), and cut off from those of Ching and Wu. I had not 'realized the approach of old age'; and (now) I am ashamed (to find) that I cannot concentrate my spirit and harmonize my body. I hate to think of falling into the class of (those who struggle incessantly against the impossible); that is why I draw shapes and spread colors, and build up these cloud ranges. A truth which was lost long ages ago may be sought with confidence in the thousand years yet to come. A subtlety of meaning which is beyond the imagery of words may be captured to one's full satisfaction from books. How much more (must this be so) in respect to the places where one's body has wandered and the sights which one's eyes have taken in; where there are forms to be imitated by forms, and colors to be reproduced by colors.

"Mount K'un-lun is so big, and the pupil of the eye is so small, that at a very short distance its form cannot be made out. At a distance of several *li*, however, it may be encompassed within an inch of pupil; and obviously as one goes farther away one sees it become smaller and smaller. Now as I spread out my plain silk (to catch) the far-away brightness, the form of Mount K'un-lun may be encompassed by

a square inch; a vertical stroke of three inches corresponds to a height of eight thousand feet, and a horizontal passage of ink over a few feet stands for an extent of a hundred *li*. That is why when one examines a painting he should be really troubled only by that lack of skill in catching resemblance (which is the result of) failing to add a convincing diminution; for Nature itself looks that way.

"By such means, the beauty of Mount Sung and Mount Hua, the very mystery of the Dark Spirit of the Universe, all may be caught within a single picture. For if one is agreed that truth lies in conformity with the eye and concurrence with the mind, (a picture in which) the resemblance is cunningly worked out will itself be in full conformity with the eye and complete concurrence with the mind. That conformity and concurrence will stir the soul; the soul will be exalted, and truth will be secured. And though one should return again to empty spaces and seek out the sombre steeps, what more could be added? The soul in the most fundamental sense is without limits, yet it dwells in forms and stirs (them to its) likeness. Truth enters into appearances and images; and surely to be able to copy (something) in wondrous fashion is to exhaust (all that it may contain).

"Therefore I live at leisure and control my breathing; wipe clean my goblet or draw sound from my lute, unroll my pictures and contemplate them in silence, or from my seat search out the uttermost limits of space. I do not oppose the concentration of celestial influences, and in my loneliness I respond to the unpeopled wilderness. Peaks and precipices rising sheer and high, cloudy forests lying dense and vast—to the sages and virtuous men (who have dwelt in obscurity) in past ages, (these have brought) a myriad pleasures to relax their souls and minds. What more should I desire? When a joy is of the soul, and only of the soul, what could be ranked higher than the source of that joy?"

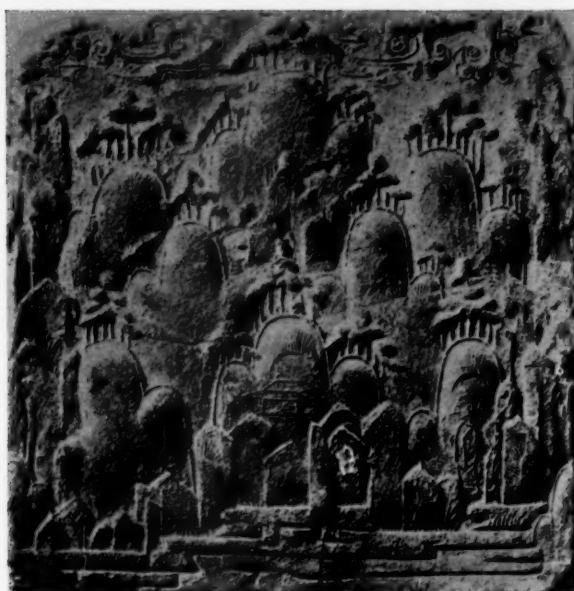


Fig. 18—Keijō (Seoul), Government Museum,  
Korea: Tomb Tile of Old Pkche  
Kingdom, VI-VII A.D.



Fig. 19—The Filial Shun

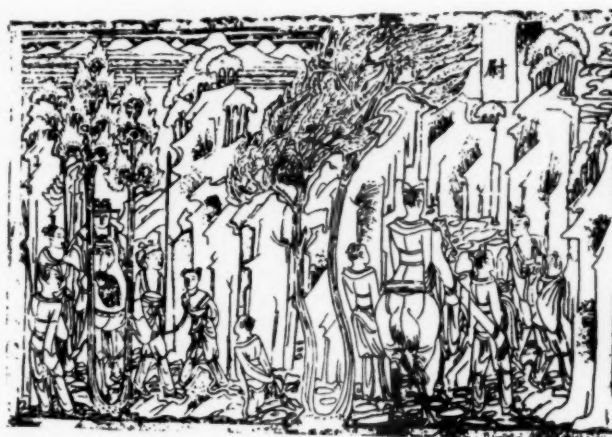


Fig. 20—The Filial Wang Lin

FIGS. 19-20—KANSAS CITY, NELSON GALLERY, DETAILS OF RUBBINGS  
FROM STONE SARCOPHAGUS PANELS, VI A.D.



Fig. 21—Tun-huang, Cave 135: Jātaka Tales, Detail of Wall Paintings, VI A.D.





Fig. 1—New York, Metropolitan Museum:  
Coptic Textile Medallion,  
Third-Fourth Century



Fig. 2—New York, Cooper Union Museum:  
Coptic Roundel with Horseman,  
Sixth Century



Fig. 1—Columbus, Ohio State Museum:  
Stone Pipe from Adena Mound



Fig. 3—Brooklyn, Museum: Coptic Limestone Relief,  
Sixth (?) Century



Fig. 2—Santa Fe, Laboratory of Anthropology: Stone  
Carving, Mountain Sheep, possibly Hohokam Culture

#### PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN ART IN EGYPT

#### INDIAN ART OF THE UNITED STATES

## EXHIBITION REVIEWS

### PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN ART IN EGYPT: AN EXHIBITION AT THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM

By SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN

The exhibition held at the Brooklyn Museum from January 23 to March 9 under the title "Pagan and Christian Egypt" was the first important one of its kind. It revealed to the general public a period of art relatively little known. To the students of Christian art, as well as to those of the late classical period, it furnished a welcome opportunity for further study. The director of the Museum and the curators who were especially responsible for the exhibition, Mr. John D. Cooney, Curator of Egyptology, and Mrs. Elizabeth Riefstahl of the Charles Edwin Wilbour Memorial Library, are to be congratulated for their initiative and for the successful achievement of a particularly difficult task. Handicapped by world conditions which did not allow them to draw on foreign collections, they were able to bring together a large number of representative examples of high quality. About three hundred objects were skilfully and beautifully displayed; special mention should be made of the novel and very effective way of showing the coins. All those who have bent over exhibition cases, straining to see the details on the coins placed in these cases, will have welcomed the help offered by the enlarged photographs hanging on the walls.

Every medium was included in the exhibition. As was to be expected the most important paintings, that is, the wall decorations of churches and monasteries, could not be shown, but there were representative examples of Fayum portraits, tempera panels, painted cartonnages, and, in addition to these works of an early date, three fine manuscripts from the outstanding collection of The Pierpont Morgan Library, which take us down to the tenth and eleventh centuries. The sculpture included works in the round, mostly of the first centuries, limestone stelae and architectural reliefs, wooden carvings, and a small but choice group of ivories. The bronze collection gave a good idea of the liturgical objects used in the Coptic church; a censer with New Testament scenes was of particular interest. The textiles formed the most important item of the exhibition. With greater possibilities of choice, Mrs. Riefstahl succeeded in presenting a wide selection of every type of technique and subject matter. If one missed the two fine tapestries of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, one found however a number of smaller pieces which had not been shown before and which added greatly to our knowledge. To complete the list of the different categories of objects displayed, we should mention the jewelry, ceramics, glass, and the coins, already referred to. It is a pity that the latter have not been included in the Catalogue, but this is the only regret that one can voice concerning this

excellent publication which is abundantly illustrated, and contains precise indications, bibliographical references for each object, and interesting articles by Mr. Cooney and Mrs. Riefstahl.

The organizers of the exhibition had the great wisdom to include pagan works done in Egypt during the first centuries of our era; thus objects which form the immediate background of the Coptic period proper could be studied together with Coptic works and help us to understand them better. There was many an opportunity to observe the gradual changes of style. One might compare, for instance, the fine Fayum portraits of the second century with those of the third century and notice how the style becomes more linear, the attitude more frontal, until in the painted cartonnages of the fourth century the faces stare at us with a fixed gaze, their large eyes sharply outlined with heavy dark lines. Similar changes occur in the limestone heads, the ivories, or the textiles.

Coptic art is not very inventive or imaginative; its appeal resides mainly in its highly decorative character and in the beauty of color displayed especially by the textiles. The range of themes or motives is rather limited, the same combinations occurring again and again on works done in different media. The close connections and interchanges between works in different media appear also in the way in which the technique proper to one work is imitated in another. For instance some textiles, such as the square from the Cooper Union Museum (Cat. no. 206), imitate portrait heads with jeweled frames. The tapestry-woven head from the Detroit Institute of Arts (Cat. no. 231), perhaps the finest in the exhibition, is handled in the manner of an impressionistic painting. The striped draperies in later manuscript illumination seem to reproduce woven textiles.

One of the outstanding decorative traits of Coptic art is the tendency to reduce the composition into single units, clearly separated from one another. The whole is thus made up of an aggregate of distinct elements rather than by their fusion or by the subordination of some parts. The gradual steps leading to this new style may easily be observed in the evolution of the rinceau, together with the transformation of natural plant forms into geometric shapes and the loss of plastic feeling. The *acanthus spinosus*, used in preference to the *acanthus mollis*, is cut more and more deeply, the lobes of the leaf forming a succession of sharp arrowheads; the surface is a uniform plane, and the contrast of this flat expanse which receives the light evenly with the deep grooves where the shadow is concentrated, results in a vivid effect of black and white. In the scroll, the leaves projecting from the thin undulating stem often bend and meet at a small central medallion, and the general impression is that of a succession of whorls enclosed in adjoining circles. In the final stages of the evolution the scroll is changed into a row of interlacing circles filled with floral and animal motives or human heads. The desire to break up a continuous design

into a series of single elements is quite clear, for even though each unit may interlace with the neighboring ones it is none the less distinct and complete in itself.

This tendency to separate a composition into small parts which can be easily apprehended appears also in the geometric ornament. The broken fret is used in preference to the continuous one. The interlaced designs are very simple; the most common type is that of looped lines forming a hexagon; the repetition of these hexagons produces an all-over pattern in which each unit is once again distinct and independent from the others.

A number of questions are aroused in one's mind by most of these objects, and we realize how much work needs to be done before we can get a clear and complete picture of Coptic art. Iconographic studies should be among the first. In the numerous textiles with pagan subjects, students of late classical art will undoubtedly discover many an interesting example, even though the themes may be deformed. The syncretism that one finds in the religion of the first centuries appears also in the works of art. A limestone stela from the Walters Art Gallery is a noteworthy example (Cat. no. 34). On a couch flanked by two Anubis jackals, a woman and man are shown reclining as on the Roman sarcophagi. To the right stands a figure in the orans pose. One might suppose that we have here the intrusion of a Christian element, but this seems doubtful in view of examples such as the stela from the Brooklyn Museum with an orans figure standing between two Anubis jackals (Cat. no. 35). These stelae, and similar ones in the Museum of Alexandria, will have to be taken into consideration when one examines the problem of whether the orans type is of Christian or pagan origin. Even if we leave out of the discussion the bronze statue of Berlin, the so-called praying boy, which has been variously interpreted, several pagan works with an orans figure are already known: we need only mention here the engraved gem from Berlin published by Furtwängler and the marble relief discovered at Nemea, on the site of the temple of Zeus (see Dom Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie*, s.v. "orant," xii, 2294-97).

The limestone relief from the Brooklyn Museum of a nude youth crowned with a laurel wreath (Cat. no. 36) should, I believe, be separated from the group of orans figures. I do not think that the right arm has been lowered to make room for the laurel branch held in the right hand, as is stated in the catalogue. I should be inclined to see in this example the representation of a victor and compare it with the textile roundel from the Kelekian collection (Cat. no. 188). This figure is also nude, except that he has a mantle thrown over the shoulder; he raises the right arm and holds a small branch in the left hand. On the Brooklyn relief the left hand touches the wreath and, so far as one can tell from the somewhat crude carving, the youth seems to be holding the wreath as if he had just placed it on his head.

Pagan and Sasanian motives are also combined. On a roundel from the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia (Cat. no. 214), the tree springing from a vase and flanked by confronted lions is treated like

the tree of life; the stylization of the floral motives recalls the Sasanian rock reliefs or silver plates. Two busts in medallions, similar to the representations of the sun and the moon on late classical works, are inserted in the foliage of the tree.

Students of Christian iconography will also find interesting material. The rider piercing a human figure—man or woman—has been identified by Mr. Cooney as St. Sisinnios and the identification seems very probable (Cat. no. 58) (Fig. 3). Sisinnios is represented in this attitude in a number of examples, the most important of which is the fresco at Bawit. But the possibility that the rider might be Solomon cannot be entirely excluded until we know more about the iconography of this theme, for Solomon appears thus even more frequently than St. Sisinnios. The rider saint is a favorite type in Coptic art and several other examples were to be seen in the exhibition, some of which are not quite clear. Is the rider represented on the roundel from the Cooper Union Museum a king or a saint (Cat. no. 252) (Fig. 2)? The small circle which he holds in his hand might be the crown of martyrdom, as in the portrait of St. Phoebammon at Bawit, and the sceptre imitates the sceptre cross, but one would have to find a satisfactory explanation for the two men standing at the sides and the lion trampled by the horse. Whatever the identification may be, saint or king, the composition is clearly influenced by Sasanian examples.

Together with the rider saints one would have to study the standing figures piercing a dragon with their lance. We have such an example in the silk fragment from the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Cat. no. 258). Mrs. Riefstahl identifies this figure as St. Michael, and the same identification is proposed by Kendrick for the companion piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A larger fragment is preserved in the Museum of Decorative Arts in Athens and, in the catalogue of the Coptic textiles there (*Τὰ Κοπτικά ὑφάσματα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Μουσείου κοσμητικῶν τεχνῶν*, Athens, 1932, pp. 184-85, fig. 158), Miss Apostolakis suggests that the figure represents Christ and compares it with the examples of Christ treading on the aspis and the basilisk. But if the omission of wings makes the identification as St. Michael somewhat uncertain, it is equally difficult to recognize the figure of Christ in view of the absence of the nimbus. It would seem to me that we have a saint here, an iconographic type comparable to the rider saint slaying a dragon with his lance and holding a cross in the other hand.

While speaking of textiles in the Athens Museum, I should like to mention the large hanging (A. Apostolakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84, figs. 45-47 and Pl. 1), of which the fine head from the Metropolitan Museum is undoubtedly a fragment (Cat. no. 183) (Fig. 1). The upper part of the Athens piece is intact: on the left there is a head with a crenellated crown, on the right a head with a leafed diadem and, in the middle, a narrow band with the names ΕΙΡΗΝΗ and ΜΟΥΣΗ. A third head, also in Athens but in a separate fragment, fits the lower left side, and the rays radiating from this head indicate clearly that it represents the sun. This corroborates the identification as Luna of the Metropolitan fragment, which originally must



have formed the lower right side of the textile in Athens.

Among the objects with Christian subjects the wooden panel from the Kevorkian collection is one of the most curious (Cat. no. 78). The foliage which fills the entire field left free by the figures may be compared with the stucco reliefs of Deir es Suryani, but the iconography is very unusual; the gesture of Abraham, his headdress, the oblong shape of his nimbus, the angel on one side and the hand of God on the other, have no close parallels so far as I know. The large roundel from the same collection (Cat. no. 234) is an interesting example of a theme which is probably pagan, but which recalls very vividly the composition of the Massacre of the Innocents.

The dating of Coptic works presents one of the most difficult problems. The organizers of the exhibition have proceeded with great sagacity and discernment; only occasionally does one find oneself in disagreement with them. The small ivory relief of a nude woman from the Walters Art Gallery (Cat. no. 101) should be placed earlier than the fifth century. We rarely see at this late date such delicacy of carving, such an elegant form, or this type of face; the work is still very close to late classical examples. On the other hand, a date later than the seventh century seems more probable for the ivory from the same collection representing a Sasanian king (Cat. no. 107). The pose of the seated figure, the treatment of the drapery, the manner of carving, the facial type, are all reminiscent of silver plates of the post-Sasanian period. Comparison with the ivory relief of the Virgin and Child from the Walters Art Gallery (Cat. no. 108), as well as with the Morgan manuscripts, also indicates a later date for this work, which seems to have been done in the ninth century at the earliest.

The Antioch mosaics will certainly prove to be very valuable for the dating of the textiles. To note only one of the features which they have in common, we may mention the treatment of the border, fairly narrow in the earlier examples, increasing in width and occupying most of the field as we come to works of a later date. The mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and those of the Great Mosque at Damascus offer interesting parallels for the floral designs. One is more and more impressed by the existence of a kind of decorative *koine* in the entire Eastern Mediterranean. Comparative studies of the works produced within the borders of the Roman and Byzantine empires, as well as those of the neighboring countries such as Persia and Armenia, are indispensable if we wish to understand not only the connections between these arts but the specific character of each. The Islamic element is also very important, though in dealing with Muslim art of the first centuries of the Hegira we are in the presence of highly eclectic works, and it is often difficult to determine if certain features which we associate with Muslim objects are characteristic of this art or whether they are borrowed from models which have disappeared.

In this review we have been able to touch only a few of the many problems which this exhibition sets before us. But even this brief survey may serve to

show the interest of the exhibition and the necessity of further study in the field of Coptic art.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

## INDIAN ART OF THE UNITED STATES: AN EXHIBITION AT THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

By GEORGE C. VAILLANT

The Museum of Modern Art still carries on its brilliant policy of showing the relationship of art to the modern world. Last winter the Museum presented the achievements of the North American Indians, past and present, in a notable show assembled and installed under the direction of René d'Harnoncourt of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the Department of the Interior, and of Frederic H. Douglas of the Denver Art Museum. Sincerity, understanding, and expression of the social and emotional content of Indian art were attained through the medium of sensitive showmanship. The atmosphere of the Museum of Modern Art stimulated these two directors to a magnificent achievement.

The content of the show comprised the cream of the great Museum collections in the United States, supplemented and enriched by work of present-day Indians and by examples recently bought by private individuals. Many centuries of patient work on the part of the Indians and a century and a half of no less assiduous collecting by American whites have produced a notable assemblage, exhibited with that sure sense of intrinsic values which Mr. d'Harnoncourt possesses to an extraordinary degree. The visitor becomes keenly conscious of his Indian heritage, of the presence of a truly continental American art, one which we may hope some day to rival.

The exhibition was arranged on three floors; beginning at the top, the visitor passed in review Indian art before white contact. On the second floor he found the art of the existing tribes, and on the ground floor Indian art adapted to our modern white culture. An infinite variety, and at the same time a universal harmony, makes this art significant and important.

The American Indians were not unified politically, linguistically, racially, or economically. Before white contact, they had no tools of steel or iron—they were neolithic in the technical sense. In the variety and scope of their achievements, they far surpassed the New Stone Age peoples of Europe, Asia, or Africa. The different media used by the Indians make one strongly conscious of the direction which society and economics give to art.

In the prehistoric section a few cases sampled the work of Eskimo hunters, pre-agricultural people in Maine, and the fishermen and shell-fish gatherers of the West Coast. Then came a room devoted to the builders of the burial mounds of southern Ohio dating from 1000 A.D. Here were shown tiny pipes, cun-

ningly worked into the shapes of animals, birds, and men (Fig. 1). At first the lack of size makes the pipes seem trivial, but a closer view, or better, a photographic enlargement, will disclose that the balance and form inherent in great monumental sculpture enhance these carvings into a major art. These early Ohioans worked also in repoussé, beating out designs in native copper. They cut out strange ghost-like conceptions in mica, and in clay evolved sympathetic and creditable reproductions of the human form. This art seems fresh and unfettered by convention. It kills at the outset the idea that an Indian was an ignoble feathered knave.

A long corridor exhibited the work of the later temple builders of our present southeastern states, who flourished in approximately 1500-1600 A.D. Temple building and developed ritual led to laws of formal presentation, customary in a religious art. The stone sculpture is larger; a skilful draughtmanship embellishes gorgets of shell; ritual patterns are applied by incision or by negative painting to jars and bowls. There is a strong flavor of the Mexican civilizations, far to the south, which may none the less have influenced these Indians of Alabama, Oklahoma, and Georgia. An extraordinary inventiveness is displayed in the pottery vessels, some of which have abstract forms, while others are effigy pots in the form of human or animal representations. The southeastern art has the robust effectiveness of early Gothic, in its combination of vigor of presentation with nascent ritualism.

A few carvings in wood from southern Florida, miraculously preserved in the mud of Key Marcos, show how the destructiveness of time has robbed posterity of a marvelous wood-carver's art. A seated cat has all the poise of early Dynastic sculpture in the Valley of the Nile.

However, the scene abruptly changes with the passage into the southwestern section. These Indians of the eighth to sixteenth centuries were sedentary farmers; they were conservative; they expressed themselves in the intricate balance of pure design, rather than in reproducing their perceptions in three dimensions. It is hard for a modern American to think in terms of pure design, but one can see that it was custom, not incompetence, that led the Pueblo to express himself along these lines (Fig. 2).

Some incredible designs of ritualistic import, taken from Pueblo kivas, or ceremonial rooms, accustomed the eye to absorbing this type of art. Mr. d'Harnoncourt changed the mood of the exhibition completely by suddenly displaying a reproduction of a canyon wall, adorned with great crude figures painted by the Basket Makers, the first farmers in the Southwest. This wall painting tears one completely away from the finite constriction of Pueblo design into the infinite expanse of time and space, in which the first Indian colonists found themselves.

The second floor continued the Indians' story by displays of the dress, ornaments, and pottery of the modern Pueblo. Navajo weaving, derived from Pueblo sources, throws warmth and color into the scene. An exquisite cluster of California baskets proved that an Indian tribe may lavish care, technique, and artistic emphasis on a craft, though they

live only by hunting and gathering.

The Plains Indians showed their wares in the next section. These tribes took over the horse from the whites and enriched themselves by trading furs for guns, knives, and other equipment. Their art is expressed on buffalo hides painted with scenes of warlike or hunting exploits. Costume shares in the lavishness of the new economy and richly ornamented skirts and trousers and elaborate headdresses exemplify a design ideal based on movement, which is dynamic in contrast to the static qualities of the Southwest.

The Woodland tribes have none of the drama of the western horsemen. Yet some tribes elaborated on their native curvilinear patterns, a rare trait in primitive art, or else incorporated floral elements, taken over from European sources. A macabre note is introduced by a secret religious society, the "False Face," whose masked members called upon the wood-carver's ingenuity in fabricating horrible concoctions blending terror and the grotesque. That reservation art is only dormant, is proved by wooden figures made by young modern Iroquois, who have revived the astonishing vitality of Indian art.

The Indians of the Northwest Coast achieved a high degree of culture based on the richness of their immediate environment, which yielded abundance of fish, game, and other wild foods. They had no agriculture, usually the associate of high cultural development. Acquiring steel tools by trade with fur-seeking whites, they blossomed out into an incredible artistic expression blending religion with family pride and social dignity. Totem poles, chests, masks, all in wood, form a powerful and definite art, the most imaginative achievement of the North American Indian. This imposing aesthetic expression was cunningly shown, the spot-lighted sculptures being the only illumination in an otherwise dark room. The supernatural forces, with whom the Indian has always been in such intimate and uncomfortable contact, seemed dramatically concentrated here, overawing even the case-hardened New Yorker.

One emerged into a bright white light, the modern Eskimo room, where small masks reflected a fancy that embodies the imaginative concentrate of *surrealism*. Yet walrus ivories are carved into men and animals with the honest objectiveness of those early sculptors in Indian Ohio.

The exhibitions on the ground floor presented modern Indian work, directed toward white consumption. The Indian in his own world, in his old world, was at home and his arts expressed his perfect adjustment to social and environmental conditions. The Indian, in trying to take his place in our modern economy, has not yet struck his stride. The lovely paintings in oils and watercolor have a definite authenticity. The old arts absorb the new techniques, but are not dominated by them. Work in silver also carries on much of the older tradition. Weaving, beadwork, and other applications of the decorative arts in the old American manner, are still reaching out questing tentacles. They have not yet firmly grasped their new lattice on which to thrive and grow. Yet it is only within the last few years that attempts have been made to encourage and resuscitate these

techniques and decorative systems which flourished so successfully in the recent past.

We all like to profit by the experience of the past and to gauge the varying standards of peoples other than ourselves. In recent years we have observed the "primitive" arts of Africa, Oceania, and Asia. Now we dare to look at the work of our first colonists in America. The Museum of Modern Art has pioneered in showing, in 1933 and 1940, the arts of the native populations south of the Rio Grande; and this winter in putting on the art of our own Indians. Thus it has worthily lived up to its ideal of opening broad vistas over the wide fields of art, of ventilating the noisome cloisters of too strictly academic sanction, which has cut us off from so much.

The peoples of the Americas are the blend of two migrations, one from Asia, the other from Europe and Africa. Each migration brought new life, new hope, a new manner of living. Our arts, while moving toward the future, should none the less root themselves in their native environment, and the Indians are an important part of the continental tradition, whether we refer to Peru, Mexico, or the United States. We have preserved the work of the Indians as ethnology, let us also enjoy it as art.

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

## THE GOYA EXHIBITION AT CHICAGO

By JOSEP GUDIOL

"The Art of Goya" shown in February at the Art Institute of Chicago was not only the best exhibition of Goya's work ever to be assembled in America but a great contribution to public appreciation of Spanish painting. Spanish art needs this kind of contribution. There are long periods of its history blanketed by foggy obscurity, out of which emerge only a few well-known names. Countless Spanish artists, nearly as good as their famous brethren, have been totally eclipsed by these masters. In addition, the number of monographs written about these individual personalities are very often merely repetitions of the frequently inaccurate accounts related by Palomino and by still less accurate modern writers. In reality, therefore, a great part of Spanish painting has not yet even reached the stage of preliminary research. This uneven appreciation and the injustice to various Spanish artists accounts for their absence from museums and collections outside of Spain. If they do appear, it is only because they bore wrong attributions, or were believed to be representatives of more fashionable schools. However, in the seven volumes on the history of Spanish painting written by Dr. Chandler R. Post, Romanesque and Gothic paintings have been studied and classified, and an unusually clear and penetrating light has been cast on the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, a period which is relatively dark in the history of painting of other countries.

When a painter has become internationally known, we find that, due sometimes to tradition and pseudo-scholarship, or to mere materialistic considerations,

his personality has become manipulated and distorted. This is especially true in the case of Goya, and for this reason the assembling of a large number of his works is important. Goya is doubtless better represented in this country than any other Spanish painter, and the sequence of work throughout his long and colorful life could be readily followed and stylistic analysis made from the fifty beautifully installed and well-lighted paintings in Chicago.

His early period in Madrid, when he painted the cartoons for the Royal Factory of Tapestries in the style brought to Spain by a group of French artists and modified by the contrasting influences of Tiepolo and Mengs, was well represented by the *Confidences in the Park*, the *Boy On a Ram*, *Winter*, and by the excellent *Gossiping Women*, which may be considered one of the masterpieces of Goya's first period. Goya made his debut as a portraitist with such portraits as *Ventura Rodriguez* and *Admiral Don José de Mazarredo*, which were followed by the portraits of the *Duke of Alba*, *Marqués de Sofraga*, *Don Bernardo Yriarte*, *Queen María Luisa*, and a *Bullfighter*, painted during the last ten years of the eighteenth century. The technique of the *Marqués de Sofraga* is comparable to the glorious *Maja Desnuda* in the Prado.

Goya's great activity in the eight years preceding the Napoleonic War was represented in the Chicago show by the portraits of *Don Ascencio Juliá*, the *Marquesa de Casa Flores*, the *Marquesa de Fontana*, *Don Antonio Noriega*, *Don Isidro Gonzalez*, and the *Condesa de Gondomar*, by the two large unfinished *Allegories*, and by the appealing *Bandit Margato* series, in which, by the portrayal of the sequence of action in an incident, Goya presages modern cinematography. The post-war period was the most fully represented in the exhibition. Included were a *Bullfight*, the *Hanging of the Monk*, and the portraits of *Victor Guey*, *Don José Manuel Romero*, *Don Fr. Miguel Fernandez*, and *Don Ignacio Omulryan y Rourera*, but the impressive canvas, *The Majas on the Balcony*, and the newly-discovered *Encampment Outside of a Burning Town* were the most conspicuous examples.

The last period of the master was divided between a tumultuous political moment in Spain and voluntary exile in Bordeaux, and in the latter circumstance he painted his most intense portraits, such as *Don Juan Antonio Cuervo* and *Don Tiburcio Perez*, and the extremely powerful *St. Peter*. They provide evidence that Goya's career was always in the ascendancy.

This magnificent collection of paintings was complemented by etchings, drawings, and lithographs, giving a complete picture of Goya's evolution as a draughtsman and as a thinker. In these graphic works one may trace his development from the early religious etchings and copies from paintings by Velasquez, through the gay Madrid period when his struggle for success made him ironic, during his illness and consequent disappointments in love which turned his native irony into sarcasm, to his last period when the disasters of the war and the stupid incomprehension and stubborn individuality of most Spaniards caused him to become the most frank and



cruel narrator of Spanish life. It is really impossible to understand and follow Goya's evolution without studying his drawings and etchings. Besides, they reveal him as a narrator not only of simple facts but of a sequence of facts wherein he formulated his observations on life, joy, fanaticism, superstition, war, and hatred more clearly than is possible in any written description. Some of these series were merely collections of sketches. In the case of the *Caprichos*, *Tauromachia*, and *Disparates* these sets of sketches were converted into etchings and published. Goya's predilection for narration by a series of compositions began when he executed the sets of cartoons for tapestries depicting popular life in Madrid. His paintings of various scenes are seldom individual unrelated works. Even his portraits possess the homogeneity of a family album and it would be a simple matter to make several series of them, each of which would show a striking unity and would reveal much of the psychological history of Spain.

It was a good plan to exhibit a few paintings by Bayeu and Lucas in the Chicago exhibition, to show the tremendous difference of quality between Goya and other Spanish painters with whom he has so often been confused. This confusion has frequently worked in both directions. Many paintings by Lucas have been labeled as Goya and, strangely enough, several Goyas have been attributed to Lucas.

The catalogue of the exhibition is as remarkable as the show itself. Daniel Catton Rich, Director of Fine Arts at the Art Institute and organizer of the exhibition, edited the indispensable companion with which to follow and understand the exhibition. This is the ideal catalogue for an exhibition of painting. All items in the show are well reproduced, and described and dated in a short and clear manner. Illustrations are closely accompanied not only by a running account of Goya, but by essential Spanish historical facts. In this way, each work in the show has been provided with a complete background. The book concludes with a concise, clear, and well-studied sketch of Goya's technique, written by the painter F. Schmid and illustrated with a scheme of Goya's palette, as represented by the portrait of Vicente Lopez, painted in 1827.

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

### "DAVID TO TOULOUSE-LAUTREC" AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

By HENRY P. McILHENNY

Before the fall of France, René Huyghe, Curator of Paintings at the Musée du Louvre, selected a group of French paintings and drawings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to be sent on a goodwill tour of South America. He drew his material not only from the Louvre, the largest single source, but from many of the surprisingly rich museums scattered throughout the provinces of France. To this nucleus he added works from private collectors and from dealers. After the trip to the capitals of

Latin America, the entire collection was brought to the United States, and was shown to the public at the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum at San Francisco, California.<sup>1</sup>

The Metropolitan Museum in New York seized upon the availability in this country of such a distinguished collection of paintings and drawings, and took advantage of this unparalleled opportunity to hold an exhibition entitled "French Painting from David to Toulouse-Lautrec." René Huyghe's selection was used as a basis, but with a few curious exceptions the twentieth-century examples were eliminated, and some other items on the original list were withdrawn at the discretion of Harry B. Wehle, Curator of Paintings at the Metropolitan. The works lent by dealers were also discarded, in accordance with the Museum's traditional policy. The Metropolitan added to this truncated body by borrowing fifty canvases from public and private collections in the United States.

The loans, both European and American, along with three recent accessions at the Metropolitan, were published in an illustrated catalogue<sup>2</sup> that follows the restrained, dignified format adopted by the Museum. There is a brief preface by Mr. Wehle, and each painting receives a few observant and enlightening comments from the same pen. Aside from dimensions, however, *catalogue raisonné* information is dispensed with, doubtless to the great relief of the average visitor, but sometimes with a pang to the follower of provenances.

The paintings and drawings listed in the catalogue were hung together in several galleries, and some items either belonging to or on permanent loan to the Metropolitan, although not in the catalogue, were included. In the galleries surrounding the temporary exhibition was hung, without being incorporated in the catalogue, the Museum's vast wealth of nineteenth-century French paintings. Thus was constituted the Metropolitan Museum's major exhibition of the year.

The result was, to use the usual shop-worn superlatives, the most comprehensive, the most important, and the greatest survey of French nineteenth-century painting ever held in America. In spite of these indisputable facts, the result was disappointing, not in regard to the merit of the subject, but in regard to the organization and arrangement of the exhibition. By not using more discrimination in the selection of the pictures, by not giving the work of each master more careful thought, and by a confused method of hanging, the Metropolitan let slip from its fingers a unique chance to create something of great distinction. The chief fault of the exhibition was the hanging. If the loans or, in other words, the paintings listed in the catalogue, had not been isolated, but had instead been logically and chronologically integrated with the Metropolitan's own collection, the visitor's

1. M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, *The Painting of France since the French Revolution*, December 1940-January 1941; foreword by Walter Heil. Pp. 104, plates.

2. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *French Painting from David to Toulouse-Lautrec; Loans from French and American Museums and Collections*. An exhibition held from February 6 through March 26, 1941. Preface by Harry B. Wehle. Pp. x+48; 64 plates.

impression of the historical sequence of French painting would have been totally different and infinitely better. An examination of the lists of the works of many artists, as tabulated in the catalogue, revealed obvious gaps, which could be filled only by making a circuitous tour of the adjoining galleries. A case in point is David, from whose brush the catalogue lists six canvases: five portraits and one landscape. To represent this artist fully a classic machine is necessary. A work of this sort, the characteristic *Death of Socrates*, was to be seen in a gallery so far removed from the other works of David that it probably was never discovered by the average visitor. The lot of Cézanne was similar. The catalogue mentions two figures, two still-lives, two very small scenes of bathers, and two landscapes, one relatively unimportant. One good landscape was not sufficient, but nearby in two different galleries hung three of Cézanne's finest landscapes, each peerless of its type: *Le Golfe de Marseille, vu de l'Estaque*, *La Montagne Sainte-Victoire*, and *Rochers* from the Havemeyer Bequest. This situation prevailed throughout a large part of the exhibition. Sometimes, however, the gaps remained unfilled in the Museum as a whole. Too strict censure should not be given, however, because of the regulations of official governing bodies, and the whims of collectors that often prohibit the inclusion of key pictures.

American museums and private collectors have concentrated on the impressionists and post-impressionists, and have failed to realize that the nineteenth century should be considered as a well-knit whole. They have tended to neglect the first half of the century, and consequently America is, relatively speaking, weak in the work of the romanticists and classicists. Thus, because of the great foreign loans, it is in these categories that the exhibition scored most heavily.

The romanticists were very well represented, and formed the chief glory of the exhibition. Delacroix, however, outshone his fellows, Gros and Géricault, and the great picture of the exhibition was the prophetically chosen *Greece Expiring on the Ruins of Missolonghi* from the Musée de Bordeaux. It is a major work of the master. The juicily painted *Christ on the Cross* from the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore is also of the highest quality. Pervaded by a fervent seriousness, it is one of Delacroix' finest compositions. *The Women of Algiers* of 1849 from the Musée Fabre at Montpellier (which lent seven oils) is a smaller and much later version of the more celebrated painting of the same name in the Louvre, dated 1834. Delacroix had a fondness for repetition, and he often executed a youthful, romantic theme in his mature, more masterly technique. In many cases the later version is more consistently handled and more satisfactory as a work of art than the earlier canvas. In this particular instance, however, the Louvre picture is preferable. Two paintings by Delacroix that unfortunately fall short of the high standard established by the masterpieces mentioned above are *Diana Surprised by Actaeon* and *The Meeting of Bacchus and Ariadne* from the series known as the "Four Seasons." The murals were ordered for the salon of Frédéric Hartmann, who was, according to

Joubin,<sup>3</sup> an Alsatian banker, industrialist, and politician. Beginning in January 1856, Delacroix mentions the commission a number of times in his *Journal*, but when Hartmann died in 1861 the "Four Seasons" were still unfinished. Technically these works are decidedly disappointing. This drop in quality may perhaps be accounted for by the following statement in the 1885 edition of Robaut:<sup>4</sup> "L'opinion publique désigne ces quatre toiles comme ayant été retouchées par une main étrangère."

No other figure in the history of nineteenth-century French painting exerted an influence comparable to that of Delacroix. Without him it is impossible to imagine the remainder of the century. Concrete proof of his influence lies in the copies<sup>5</sup> made after Delacroix by so many of his most gifted younger compatriots. Manet twice copied *Dante et Virgile aux Enfers*, one example being in the Havemeyer Bequest at the Metropolitan.<sup>6</sup> Cézanne, according to Lionello Venturi,<sup>7</sup> made six copies, and Renoir made a careful study of the *Noce Juive dans le Maroc*,<sup>8</sup> and used pictures by Delacroix in the backgrounds of his portraits of M. and Mme Chocquet.<sup>9</sup> It is known that both Renoir and Cézanne inordinately admired the many Delacroix in the collection of these early patrons of the impressionists.<sup>10</sup> Degas, too, was an ardent collector<sup>11</sup> of the paintings and drawings of Delacroix, and van Gogh used the romantic artist as an inspiration on a number of occasions.<sup>12</sup>

Delacroix' extraordinary influence far outstripped that of his great rival, Ingres. The classicist was brilliantly represented in the exhibition by a group of important examples of his impeccable line. The *Turkish Women at the Bath* from the Louvre, with its nudes intricately interlaced in a scene so lacking in mystery, was outstanding. In contrast, there was the *Stratonice* from the Musée Fabre, so thinly painted in cool, transparent tones that the delicate drawing is apparent throughout. This classic scene, painted one year before the artist's death, could serve as a testament of Ingres' artistic credo.

The only artist able to combine and fuse the styles of Ingres and Delacroix was Théodore Chassériau. The single example of his work, and indeed the only important canvas by the master ever shown publicly in the vicinity of New York, is a remarkable expression of this union of opposing doctrines. Sometimes Chassériau's work is felt to be in the spheres of influence of his two sources of inspiration, but this

3. André Joubin, ed., *Journal de Eugène Delacroix*, Paris, 1932.

4. Alfred Robaut, *L'œuvre complet de Eugène Delacroix*, Paris, 1885.

5. Beaumont Newhall, "After Delacroix," *American Magazine of Art*, xxix, 1936, 580-84.

6. Paul Jamot and Georges Wildenstein, ed., *Manet*, Paris, 1932.

7. Cézanne, *son art—son œuvre*, Paris, 1936.

8. Michel Florisoone, *Renoir*, Paris, 1938.

9. Julius Meier-Graefe, *Renoir*, Leipzig, 1929; Georges Rivière, *Renoir et ses amis*, Paris, 1921.

10. *Tableaux modernes, aquarelles et dessins, [Vente] après décès de Mme Vve. Chocquet*, Paris, Georges Petit, 1-4 juillet, 1899.

11. *Collection Edgar Degas, Catalogue de tableaux modernes et anciens, [Vente] Galerie Georges Petit*, Paris, 1918.

12. J.-B. de la Faille, *L'œuvre de Vincent van Gogh*, Paris and Brussels, 1928.

picture is pure Chassériau. Because little of his output was sold and because his well-to-do descendant, Baron Arthur Chassériau, bequeathed the bulk of his inheritance to France, specimens of his work are extremely rare, and the only group of Chassériaus on this side of the Atlantic is in the Grenville L. Winthrop collection in New York.

The foreign and American loans of the middle and second half of the century were of lesser moment, because the Metropolitan is astoundingly rich in this field. In fact, distinguished and comprehensive one-man shows of Corot, Courbet, Degas, and Manet are constantly being held there. Consequently it was difficult to add to the works of these four men, but the little Corot landscape *View of Rome: The Bridge and the Castle of Sant' Angelo* from the California Palace of the Legion of Honor is of breathtaking beauty, and Degas' *Cotton Market in New Orleans*, seen on a previous occasion in Philadelphia, is one of that great draughtsman's most interesting works, particularly for Americans.

In spite of owning the large portrait of Mme Charpentier and her children, the Metropolitan Museum is still unfortunately weak in Renoirs, and this artist was not represented in the exhibition as strongly as he should have been. The loans included neither figures in composition nor studies of the nude, and one looked in vain for a late work. This last omission might have been excused, since the scope of the exhibition supposedly ended with Toulouse-Lautrec, had not a Bonnard painted as late as 1924, as well as a twentieth-century Vuillard, been presented. Perhaps late Renoirs should be considered twentieth-century pictures, too, and as a matter of fact it would have been hard for Mr. Wehle to have found more than a mere handful of late examples of good quality available for loan in this country.

Van Gogh was, except for the lack of a still-life, admirably and intelligently shown. The blue portrait of Dr. Gachet, a fascinating characterization, is the version formerly in the Städtische Galerie at

Frankfurt, and not, as the catalogue implies, the version retained by the doctor's son at Auvers-sur-Oise. The equally unfamiliar *Public Gardens in Arles* lent by Jakob Goldschmidt is one of van Gogh's most brilliant and most successful landscapes.

Paintings of the highest quality were far too numerous to be singled out for especial comment here. There were, however, three canvases the selection of which it was difficult to understand. The portrait of Mme Léopold Gravier by Fantin-Latour is a poor and unrewarding example of that artist's talent, and the *Head of a Tahitian Woman* by Gauguin is surprisingly weak and badly drawn. The large unfinished sketch of *Don Quixote* by Daumier, lent anonymously and apparently without provenance, is a puzzling canvas. It seems to bear no relation whatsoever to the findings in regard to Daumier's technique as set forth in the recent article by Henri Marceau and David Rosen in the *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* for 1940.<sup>13</sup> The great *Wagon de Troisième Classe* in the Havemeyer Bequest, as well as the wonderful *Crispin et Scapin* lent by the Louvre, are both unfinished and reveal Daumier's unusual and typical techniques. A comparison of the three paintings was instructive.

The drawings from France as a whole were uneven in quality, but any exhibition that contains *The Stamaty Family* by Ingres and *La Soupe* by Daumier, one of the masterpieces of all time, cannot be passed by hurriedly. Additions of Daumiers and Degas, to cite but two instances, from the rich resources of the Metropolitan added materially to the brilliance of the display. Strangely, when the twentieth-century items were withdrawn from the original group, one Bourdelle and one Picasso were left behind, and looked ill at ease in the midst of works of an earlier period.

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13. "Daumier: Draughtsman—Painter," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 111, 1940, 8-41.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir:

In Professor Schapiro's review of the *Survey of Persian Art* in the March issue of the *ART BULLETIN*, I sympathize with his criticisms of the Editors' tendency to isolate and exalt Persian art from and above all others. But when he says that "The rendering of terror and rage would be as unlikely here . . ." and that "the rigid hands of archaic statues were not representations of psychological states, but characteristics of a style," in the words of Apollonius of Tyana, "simply the style of the ancients," false conclusions are implied. For there is no such thing as "simply the style": nothing happens by chance. The better we come to understand the *mind* of the ancients (I find it more intelligible than the mind of the moderns), the more clearly we see that their "style" corresponds to this "mind." I say "mind" deliberately, because it is to the mind far more than to the feelings that art (and especially "geometric" art) is pertinent. All that Plato has to say about art is tantamount to praise of Greek archaic or even Greek geometric art, and dispraise of Greek naturalistic art; while for Aristotle the representation of character in tragedy is still subordinate to that of action, i.e., essence, since for him as for the ancients generally, the man *is* what he *does*.

Whether Professor Schapiro means to say that style is an "accident," or that a style is brought into being solely for "aesthetic" reasons, he is ignoring the fact that "the style is the man" (or group of men) and inevitably expresses their point of view, if it is not to be dismissed as an "artificial style," which would be rather ridiculous for the neolithic pottery painting. Style reveals essence; and if an archaic face is impassive, it means that those whose style this was, or rather those with whom this style originated, were "stoics" in Plato's sense and that of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, "able to stand up against pleasure and pain," and in this sense, although not in ours, "apathetic."

Moreover, is not Professor Schapiro confusing style with iconography? "Primitive" art is essentially an "imitation of the actions of Gods and Heroes," and as Plato says in this connection, whoever would represent these invisible realities "truly" must have known "themselves as they really are." But nothing can be known except in the mode of the knower; to the extent that the Gods are man-made they "take the shapes that are imagined by their worshippers," and these are an index to the worshippers themselves. Nor must we forget that the body is traditionally an image of the soul, which is the *form* of the body; just as the shape of the work of art is determined by its form. Things such as facial expression and gesture are therefore significant of

states of being, as is explicit in Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, III. 10.8; where textual sources are available, as in India, these gestures are matters of prescription, not of taste, the intention being to conform the icon to its paradigm, so that there may be what Plato calls not so much "likeness" as an "adequate" representation. It is surely to all sculpture that the remarks of Socrates quoted by Xenophon, *Mem.* III.10.6-8 apply; he concludes, "Then must not the menacing glance of fighters be correctly represented, and the triumphant glance of victors imitated? Most assuredly. So then, the sculptor *is* able to represent in his images the activities of the soul." Unless we mean to stop short at the aesthetic surfaces of works of art, ignoring their content, it will not be enough to know the *what* of iconography, we must also understand its *why*. And in so far as the theme is mythical, as is notably the case in "primitive" works of art, this will mean a *reductio artium ad theologiam*, "a reference of the arts to theology."

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

To this, Professor Schapiro replies as follows:

The question is not whether style "expresses" the mentality of a people or culture, but how we are to interpret certain conventional elements in images, whether, for example, the faces of struggling men without emotional expression are to be read as a positive representation of stoic impassivity or self-control; and secondly, whether in that case they are to be regarded as expressing a common moral trait of the people who produced the image. For even if one accepts the formula that "style is the group of men," the nature of the style and the men and their connection is still problematic; not all correlations of artistic forms and cultural habits are valid. Since the same emotionally neutral rendering of the face is found in all works of the time in both passive and active figures, it is doubtful that in the fighting figures it represents a positive self-restraint. And since, moreover, we find this absence of facial expression in the arts of people who do not restrain their expression of grief or excitement in everyday life—an obvious example are the Homeric Greeks, who rant and shriek in the early epic poems, but are "impassive" in the oldest representations—Dr. Coomaraswamy's "stoic" interpretation becomes even more doubtful. Certainly the quotation from Xenophon, who belongs to a period of naturalistic sculpture, cannot be applied as an evidence of the intentions of early archaic and Persian sculptors.

MEYER SCHAPIRO  
Columbia University

## BOOK REVIEWS

AGNES MONGAN and PAUL J. SACHS, *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art, A Critical Catalogue*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940. Vol. I, Text, pp. xii+465; Vol. II, Plates, Italian, 1 to 183; Vol. III, Plates, Other European Schools, 184 to 404. \$25.00.

No review can, in a clarified and coördinated manner, cover or even allude to the immense mass of material that these volumes contain. They are the result of years of painstaking research, careful thought, and sensitive understanding. They record an admirable and rare alliance of the connoisseur and the art-historian.

The little that remains to us of the past is mostly damaged, uprooted from its life-context and scattered. The connoisseur alone can revive, though in a ghostly way, its significance. The art-historian rearranges its fragments in somewhat arbitrary patterns and in unelastic perspectives of time. These imply a framework of intellectual comprehension. Sometimes they also imply no feeling for the values on which the meaning of art depends. In the volumes before us there is no such unhappy divorce of the two aspects of thought and imagination through which we seek to know and appreciate the crumbling remains of what was significant in the past.

But, since our text deals with the collection of drawings in the Fogg Museum and is intended not only for scholars and connoisseurs but for students, it also includes material which, though not essential to the mature worker in this field, is of interest and value to all those who delight in fine drawings as the frailest, the most perishable, and yet often the most revealing trace left by illuminated minds on the background of time. It is for this reason too that, in the study of drawings more than in any field of art history, a sensitive eye, a well-balanced sensorium, and an emotional response mean more than factual knowledge or any disciplined accumulation of data. As the authors remark, it is connoisseurship that makes good collections. No surer proof of this truth need be sought than is made evident by the quality of the drawings which Paul Sachs gave to the Fogg Museum. More than the larger Loeser collection, which is now part of the same collection, they betray to the awakened eye his passion for excellence moving to the goal of acquisition with a sharpened discrimination. Knowledge and recognition of the best are not static things or even a proper end in themselves. A true appreciation of draughtsmanship is an evolving form of poise and judgment based on many experiences and sustained by a warm enthusiasm but never carried away by it. All knowledge, even when happily forgotten, is a training for this state of active receptivity. The sometimes ponderous views of critics and carefully erected inventions of art-historians are secondary products of inquisitiveness and logic. They are the commentary and exegesis worked out after the music has ceased; they are the costume hung in the cupboard after the dancer has departed.

Drawing is an ancient art. In some ways it has never progressed in subtlety; in another sense it has, as jotting or final study, gradually so spread its borders that it has come to record, now fugitively, now with precision, the entire groundwork on which man's effort to express himself in the plastic arts is based. Magic clung to it in its infancy and it has never (we are thinking of great drawings) lost its magic, even when put to such utilitarian ends as we find in the pattern books of Giottesque times or the workshop studies of draped stucco models used by successful Florentine *botteghe* of the Renaissance.

In this catalogue we are skilfully conducted through a selection of occidental drawings from the fourteenth century to the present day. The American and English schools will be studied in two future volumes. So extensive a compendium depends on many things besides the connoisseur's eye to which we have referred. Even a connoisseur may be moved by secondary motives. A Rembrandt, a Vasari, a Mariette, a Bonnat was doubtless swayed in his selection of drawings by interests or points of view we can only guess at. The chance to find or buy, the kind of appreciation or taste that would sift the available market, these are accidents and yet determining factors. Then there is the use to which collected drawings are to be put. Do they illustrate some evolution of technique for the collector, some imprint of race, some attitude towards form, some social ambition, some monetary value locked up safely? Into a collection made up of bequests or gifts all these urges and attitudes in donors prevent the resultant whole from being coherent or of equal value through all its parts, no matter how excellent the nucleus. The heterogeneous, the accidental, the relatively insignificant will have crept in. Considering that around the Randall and the Sachs collections, the collection at the Fogg has been formed in this conventional way, it reaches in most categories a remarkably high level. Exchange and the sale of duplicates, especially prints, have made it possible to enlarge its borders and raise its quality under the expert guidance of Paul Sachs's insight.

In this catalogue the process of scholarly clarification is carried a step further. A number of the attributions which it records carry question marks. These are the signposts of a criticism above credulity, romanticism, or traditional ascriptions. If the number of such queries seems at times to be large, let it be remembered that, if the same standards of firm and skeptical scholarship were applied systematically to some of the greatest museum collections abroad, question marks would appear in greater numbers in their catalogues.

It may be worth while to run through its whole collection, not however with any hope of touching more than the high spots. We will have occasion for the most part to agree with the authors' carefully drawn conclusions; at the same time now and then we may dissent. No space is at our disposal to argue fine points.

The feeble drawing (no. 9), cut around its silhouette, has been believed to be Crivelli's study for the *St. Peter* in the Detroit Museum. But the authors realize that it cannot be by his hand unless he was a much poorer draughtsman than the intense modeling of his pictures would lead us to believe. Moreover, no documented drawing by Crivelli is known. Their query is thoroughly justified. So too is their skepticism with regard to a small group of Italian drawings (nos. 18-20) elsewhere variously attributed.

The excellent Filippino Lippi drawing, with its telling and fluent evocation due to a heightening in white, reminds one that in pen and wash he was less secure, even though at times his imagination, now tame now fantastic, comes through a scribble of useless strokes which have not even the virtue of being purely calligraphic.

The fine Mantegna drawing of apostles for the Uffizi triptych brings us to another fallacious form of draughtsmanship—a deceptive *trompe-l'œil* where the paper turns to bronze cast from a steel impression. Mantegna's hand painfully followed focused and refocused visual minutiae—every point the eye insists on, if the interpretative activity of the mind is less than active. In these minutiae, in spite of his grandeur, sincerity, and severity, are Mantegna's limitations. But there's nothing cheap about them.

Such sincerity cannot be found in the delicate emptiness of Perugino. His work parallels not only best sellers in literature but that of an army of artists who have been acclaimed and bought eagerly in their lifetime at high prices. Not that Perugino was without ability. He undeniably "had something"—a trick of contemplative pose, a sense of light and space as in a meditation untouched by suffering and struggle. The hypnosis of a faked vision clings to his shadowy figures. They are not drawn but "made out." The seeming sensitiveness of his line is really part of the hoax; it serves to put over whatever slim content there is in his sketches. It is the jingle of a bad poem. His dexterity, his stock in trade of a beatific vision—escape mechanisms for weary or simple minds—brought upon him the curse of big orders and many assistants. He generally wavers between the limitations of various techniques like a musician who can play the viola, the piano, and the oboe passably but is a master of none. Vaporized emotion, business acumen, bad art.

So great a drawing as the *Fighting Nudes* by Pollaiuolo (once in the Sachs collection) stands at the other end of the scale of draughtsmanship, alive in every sense and full of meaning. The *St. Sebastian*, which the authors give to his school, and Berenson believes to be a study for the National Gallery picture, shows how a line that once carried the imprint of a master's imagination can lose its crispness and stimulating power and become a *decalque* even if not made directly from an original.

The attribution to the "Manner of Sellaio" of a drawing of Minerva seems as difficult to understand as Berenson's belief that it is "a tracing after a lost drawing of Piero di Cosimo in his Credi-like phase," or McComb's that it is by Francesco di Giorgio. These are ascriptions made when the impulse to recognition is strong, as it is when the mind is caught

in the systematic characteristics of any study. Conjecture in such moments becomes tenuous and one fails to take into account that no method of interpretation, however sensitively balanced and logical, can ever reintegrate more than aspects of the past, uprooted as it is by organic forces rushing forward into the future and leaving behind them mostly a jumbled wreckage of fragments. This sheet, as a matter of fact, is just a drawing of no moment over which the tradition of Botticelli hangs in a shadowy manner.

So too the *Sacrificial Scene* (no. 25) is neither by Mantegna nor yet by Giovanni Bellini, if one can rely at all on the correspondences on which no small part of our connoisseurship is based. North Italian it seems to be, but whether the hand that made it was North Italian or was actuated by a mind caught by the power of Mantegna or merely stirred by Mantegnesque things is beyond the scope of conjecture.

Sometimes the framework of external events helps us to place a drawing, even one of the sixteenth century, with unusual accuracy. The Ammanati study of the Belvedere is a case in point. Two dates, as the authors point out (one certain, one approximately so), circumscribe its position in his *œuvre*. The palace, in course of construction, is seen from the court known as the "Teatro." The history of its erection, within narrow limits, is known from other documents.

Passing on to later Italians, we note in an artist as flashy and empty as Cambiaso a tendency to pretentious virtuosity. Expert and effective, like some modern cubistic work (of which he was an unconscious forerunner), his drawings, though attractive in a superficial way, are meaningless. They remind one of the free verse of a poet who has not trained himself in austerer rhythms. Cambiaso's restless fecundity is amazing, but it may be more apparent than real since, by accident or because they were caught in a channel of taste, an immense number of his drawings survive.

But not all later Italians moved so with the current. Faccini, in his *Madonna Appearing to St. Anthony*, shows that even a Bolognese could pursue a path contrary to the tendencies of his fellow townsmen. In so doing he achieved a rare immersion of his subject in an implied light. There is nothing fallacious about his brilliance. Beside it, how heavy-handed and provincial Gaudenzio Ferrari is may be judged from his *Christ and the Apostles*, if that indeed is really the subject.

It may be noted in passing that a great number of the Loeser drawings which came to the Fogg by the terms of his will are not, as drawings, of great aesthetic interest. Neither can it be said that many of his own attributions are impressive.

An interesting example of similar attributions, into which a large element of guesswork enters in a moment of sensibility not sufficiently skeptical, was Frizzoni's ascription to Pisanello of the drawing of a court lady (no. 137). It was superseded by Berenson's suggestion of Pesellino. The authors of this catalogue correctly see in it a sixteenth-century work faintly reminiscent of earlier things. They give it with caution and a question to Parmigianino.



On reconsidering after many years the reclining nude (no. 82) ascribed to Pontormo, I find that it still does not seem good enough to be classed with even the poorest drawings of his last period. Still we must remember (and it is something art critics frequently forget) that an artist is not at all times equal to his best moments. His capabilities vary from day to day. Pontormo was a sick man toward the end of his life, sick and solitary. His drawing of two nudes (no. 145) which I once thought belonged to his later years, I now recognize as a sketch dating from 1520 or thereabouts. It is undoubtedly for Poggio a Cajano. I am therefore in complete accord with the dating of the authors. The germ of mysterious hauntings and terrified dreams is already visible in it. They are symptoms of a point of view different from that of Andrea del Sarto's naturalism on which Pontormo's early work was founded. Perhaps I was too conscious of the part such nightmares played in the San Lorenzo frescoes and so was led astray.

The three caryatids, given to Pontormo by Loeser, are correctly ascribed to Rosso by Berenson and in the text of this catalogue.

Two kinds of drawings by Veronese are interesting in themselves and well illustrated in the Fogg collection. One is fugitive, subtle and, in spots, inexact or unsteadily searching, as if the innate idea were just beyond possible capture by a line slightly erratic and lacking in vitality; the other is diligent and elaborate. Really this latter kind is not a drawing at all but an intermediate genre approaching somewhat a bastard woodcut. It is heavily modeled in light and prosaically worked up. It suggests without color the substantial worldly splendors of Veronese's painting and that fealty of his to the visual fact that did not escape the notice of the theologians of his age. He knew no spiritual integration, and art of the future, much postponed, belonged not to him but to El Greco's ecstatic visions.

A lag between the evolution of the technique of drawing and that of painting can be noticed in the work of Guido Reni. Something of the alertness, the electrifying seizure of older masters clings to his sketches, a dexterity, a freshness of impression, a promptness in recording the essential. They are not profound or revealing but they are strikingly animated, while most of his paintings now seem plaster casts of a rhetoric which seeks to hide in crude sentimentality its inner poverty.

Passing by many later Italians of whom there are characteristic specimens at the Fogg, we come to Canaletto's cold and expert transcriptions of Venetian scenes. Venice in his time was a mass of brilliant architecture come down from many centuries. It was stone set in water—admirable in its perspectives, interspersed with gardens, and encircled by the low horizons of marshes and sea. Little men in little boats moved about in the resplendent décor under the strong light of quiet skies. Canaletto's record of all this was a type of drawing which, from the first wiry sketch to the steel-hard final version, aimed at a strict verisimilitude. Even when he sought to escape from the actual into "caprices," he did so in terms of architecture and perspective. Canaletto

knew everything there was to know about placing and scale. His art terminates in engraving and foresees the limitations of the lens. But he is stripped of sentimentality and triumphs by a fine craftsmanship. In him the massive rhetoric of the baroque is left behind. He sets down his sedate age of nondescript people rowing in crowded canals or chatting in piazzas and on bridges so unflinchingly and with such sincerity that, though devoid of spiritual implications, he lives as an example of rectitude.

Guardi cleverly abbreviated Canaletto's scope and dipped his sharp geometry in picturesqueness and a softened light. He subtilized the shorthand of his master's first sketches into something fragile yet of an incomparable virtuosity. The Fogg drawings (nos. 318, 320, and 321) are excellent examples of this transposition of the end-point from engraving to etching.

The spectacular elegance, the bravura of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's pen and wash can be studied in seven unusual examples at the Fogg. Not all are of his greatest but they tell the story of his incredible skill, his unhesitating hand, in a varied manner. Were the substance of his fantasy more meaningful, the depth of his emotion more profound, he would have been one of the greatest of occidental draughtsmen. He understood elimination. Nothing tedious or useless remains in his sketches—only a magical swiftness, a dazzling sureness.

In so brief a review we shall have to pass over the German drawings studied in this catalogue. They represent a by-path, rather than a broadening of aesthetic ideals in the history of the graphic arts in Europe, and are for the most part meticulous or quaint or imitative. Even the emotional content of Dürer's magnificent *Lamentation* seems now a little provincial and overwrought. Holbein is a different matter and the so-called *Portrait of a Leper* is unforgettable and convincingly believed to be his.

Van Dyck, Rubens, and Rembrandt must also not detain us, although the Fogg possesses striking specimens of each. Of these, Rembrandt most deserves extended discussion. We can only refer to his *Saskia III in Bed*. It is not a subject hallowed by tradition or legend nor is the drawing without injury or retouching. But how grandly simple, how unexaggerated, how moving this passing moment to which Rembrandt's mind and hand brought a permanent significance.

Among the modern French drawings at the Fogg, many of which are of outstanding merit, mention can be made of only a few. Degas' insight into the psychology of Mme Herter, her meditative eyes curious about some happening or troubled by a problem, leaves on her face the light suggestion of a smile as enigmatical as Leonardo's if more personal. This is one of the most attractive of his drawings. More summary than Ingres, he is, at his best, more revealing.

No review, however inadequate, of the material covered by these volumes would be satisfactory without at least a brief reference to Géricault as a draughtsman. In his *Italian Landscape*, dating from the early years of last century, we can explore to

perfection his approach to the fragile yet forceful art of pen and ink and wash. Here is the classical tradition and yet, in the strain and muscular stress of the figures, there is something of the new age, some ferment of revolution. Oddly enough the arrangement of the masses, the economy of the line, recall the work of Chinese painters of the Ching period. In another Fogg drawing his skill in massively suggesting muscular movement may be followed in the furious energy of horses and rider—always one of his favorite themes.

The Ingres drawings in Cambridge include some made for the *Madame d'Haussonville* of the Frick Collection. To the whole existing group of sketches for this portrait Dr. Andrew C. Ritchie has devoted a definitive study in the *ART BULLETIN* (Vol. XXII, September 1940). Two preliminary studies, apparently known to the authors, are not mentioned by Dr. Ritchie. On the other hand he has pointed out two other sketches seemingly unknown at the Fogg. He has also correctly read the notation on number 705 which is "grand foyer de lumière" and not "gra? foyer de Carmine" as transcribed in the work before us.

Few misprints, indeed practically none—a triumph for so large and varied a publication—mar the text volume. There seem to be some slight misunderstandings in the transliteration of the Veronese letter on page 109. The only other slip, if slip it can be called, that need be mentioned has been pointed out to me by Mr. H. G. Dwight of the Frick Collection. The untranslated phrase "2 tacai" on the Canaletto drawing (no. 308) refers of course to the tied buttresses and is the Venetian for the modern Italian "2 attaccati."

The format, the bindings, the printing, and the paper are in admirable taste; the illustrations with few exceptions clear and well-balanced. Both physically and in their content these three volumes attain a clarity, an orderliness, a completeness unusual in the art-historical studies of any country. They are a great achievement in a difficult field and set a new standard, a standard of which American scholarship can well be proud.

FREDERICK MORTIMER CLAPP  
*The Frick Collection*

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN, "The Etruscans and their Art," in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design*, XXVIII, July 1940. 50 cents.\*

In this short account of the Etruscans and their art—occupying thirty-one pages, of which almost half are taken up by illustrations—George Hanfmann has given us an excellent survey. Though the primary object was to bring before the public the Etruscan objects in the Providence museum, this is done against a background of Etruscan political and social history in which the manifold problems are skilfully and concisely brought out. Only an archaeologist with an extensive knowledge of this intricate subject could have acquitted himself so ably of this

task. We have here not only a connected, logical account, but interwoven into it are many stimulating suggestions and comparisons; as, for instance, when sixth-century Etruscans, who from a "society of conquering warriors" had been "slowly transformed into a society of wealthy merchants" are compared with the fifteenth-century Venetians.

Naturally in a short, popular account of this nature it was not possible to give chapter and verse for each statement made. The reader is therefore never quite sure whether a remark rests on sound evidence or is a mere surmise. But the intention of the article is evidently to give as vivid an account as possible of a people still shrouded in mystery, and one must not be pedantic and ask, for instance, how we know that it was the Etruscans rather than their predecessors who introduced viniculture into Central Italy.

The Etruscan collection in Providence, though not extensive, is well adapted to serve as an illustration of Etruscan accomplishment, for it is lifted out of the ordinary by several masterpieces. The magnificent seventh-century gold fibula with its human and animal figures in the finest granulation is an eloquent witness of the wealth and culture attained by Etruscans during that early period. The bronze situla or pail from Bologna on which are represented lively scenes of marching soldiers, musicians, and athletes, gives us a glimpse of the native peoples of Italy subjugated by their Etruscan conquerors. The bronze cinerary urn with lively Pegasi perched on the rim is a fine example of an interesting late archaic product. As Dr. Hanfmann points out, it is particularly difficult in this case to decide whether the workmanship is Etruscan under strong Greek influence, or South Italian Greek; for such urns have been found in Campania, which at that time was under Etruscan domination. But surely the very lightness of touch and "the angular and fluid forms" which the author thinks suggest provincial Greek execution, are rather in favor of Etruscan. For is not the distinguishing trait of Etruscan bronzes just this combination of buoyancy of spirit and sketchy workmanship? And have not the dancers in Etruscan frescoes the same abandon as these impetuous Pegasi?

The excellence of the illustrations greatly enhances the value of this pamphlet. They are clear, large, and plentiful, and include detail as well as all-over views. Dr. Hanfmann is to be congratulated on producing this distinguished and eminently useful essay. It is one of the best interpretations of Etruscan culture that has been published in any language.

By way of an appendix J. Whatmough gives a careful analysis of the Etruscan inscription on the rim of the Bolognese situla and interprets it as perhaps giving the names of its owners and of its maker.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER  
*Metropolitan Museum of Art*

\* Note: The *ART BULLETIN* does not as a rule review periodical articles, but Dr. Hanfmann's essay is sufficiently comprehensive in scope to merit, we feel, attention in these columns. *Ed.*

MIRIAM SCHILD BUNIM, *Space in Medieval Painting and the Forerunners of Perspective*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xvii+261; 78 figs. \$5.00.

Mrs. Bunim has boldly attacked one of the most important and one of the most complicated problems in the history of art. She attempts and, let it be said at once, she generally succeeds in clarifying the transformation of antique into medieval space representation, and the subsequent metamorphosis of this medieval representation of space into that of the fourteenth and later of the fifteenth century.

The author starts from a careful analysis of the terminology of space representation and of the way in which space as a whole can be depicted in painting. Representation of space on a two-dimensional surface depends on the treatment both of the surface plane and of the objects represented. The surface plane may be either a rough, natural surface or it may be a pictorial surface. If the surface is pictorial it may be either untreated or treated and, in this latter case, it may be neutral (that is, uniformly colored) or it may be active (treated in gold or in different colors). Only an active surface can be treated as space, either as representative "realistic" or as non-representative space; and only within such a "spatial surface" can objects be arranged. This disposition of objects is either of a *conceptional* character—that is, the objects are depicted according to their actual "real" shape or according to their hierarchic importance—and in this case they are placed in either a vertical or in an "inverted" space; or the objects are *visually* conceived—that is, according to the way in which they appear to the eye. In this case they are either set in a terrace-like arrangement, or in some kind of perspective which is focused towards a vanishing area, towards a vanishing axis, or towards a vanishing point. This last arrangement is the one which we have known since the days of the early Renaissance.

After this somewhat rigid but probably necessary clarification of terminology, the book begins with a discussion of the development of spatial representation in antiquity. Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Aegean, and Greek representation of space are merely alluded to. The problem proper is initiated with the examination of Roman space representation, in which two types are distinguished: the stage space of the megalograph and prospect scenes, and the illusionistic space of the landscape paintings. The first type is an enclosed spatial form with some kind of linear perspective (for the particular character of this perspective, the author bases herself on Panofsky's masterly study in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, Vol. IV, 1924-25, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 258 ff.); the second is founded on an aerial perspective and on a gradual, though non-scientific, diminution of objects in depth.

The decisive change takes place in the Early Christian and Carolingian period. The stage space of Roman times is transformed into a surface; the ground becomes a narrow band at the bottom, the rear plane a broad gold or blue area which fills the rest of the picture. The illusionistic space, on the other hand, changes into what the author calls "stratified space"; the graded colors whereby depth had

been indicated in Roman landscape painting, fall into horizontal bands, which in the course of development become more and more solidified. In either case what had been space becomes a vertical surface; correspondingly the three-dimensional objects, figures and so forth, which in Roman painting had stood within the three-dimensional space, become flat, two-dimensional forms which float in frontal positions or in three-quarters' view near the upper edge of the bottom strip. The first as well as the second form of space representation occurs in Italy; the northern schools work exclusively with stratified space, although the ground strip is sometimes treated as a common standing-plane for the figures, while occasionally they are supported by individual ground lines. In other instances this stratification is combined with a tall "representative" object, an edifice on a hill, in the background. In contrast to both Italian and northern schemes, Byzantine painting preserves a far greater number of elements pertaining to the stage space of the Roman type.

This establishment of a "stratified" space in Early Christian and Carolingian art is, I feel, the decisive point in Mrs. Bunim's investigations. It is, indeed, of the utmost importance for the whole understanding of medieval space representation. Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, in the schools of Reichenau, Echternach, or Trier, the figures float as flat forms near the upper edge of the bottom stratum, while other clearly-defined horizontal zones form the background. This same form with only slight variations is found in southwestern France and in England. On the other hand, in the schools of Hildesheim and Regensburg, these background zones are replaced as early as the early eleventh century by vertical, checkered, or rosette patterns which separate the figures even more definitely from the ground so as to create two different planes, one for the figures and one for the decorative ground-pattern. Both are completely flat, but they are clearly independent of each other. The antique representation of space has been replaced by a quite new medieval one.

In Romanesque twelfth-century painting, these ground-patterns continue: France, and generally England as well, use vertical bands, while in the German and in some English schools a panel is inserted either horizontally or vertically into the background, which is sometimes decorated with rinceaux. Figures and objects are not related to the background. Finally, in the thirteenth century a new attitude becomes manifest: all vestiges of stratification are eliminated, the background is done first in gold, then in gold with a design on it; it is separated from a flat or rocky collective ground plane on which the figures tread, and the whole picture is surrounded by an architectural frame. The figures are more solid, and their heads turn in different directions. Intercommunicating groups replace the older hierarchic alignment of figures. A new stage space forms itself.

Italy had hardly shared in this development. It had worked with both the stratified space and the Byzantine modified stage space, preserving in either case vestiges of three-dimensional representative elements. During the thirteenth century, this Byzantine stage space is animated and constantly elabo-



rated upon, and this development continues throughout the fourteenth century in a process of confluence of Byzantine and Gothic elements. Preliminary forms of perspective are introduced; depth is created by the convergence of receding parallels towards vanishing areas or towards a vanishing axis. Never, however, is "the union of geometry with the laws of optics for the formation of a theoretical perspective . . . realized," as is the case later in the fifteenth century. Some of these elements of Italian Trecento painting are introduced into French and English painting from the first half of the fourteenth century on and gradually break up the medieval representation of space.

To dispense in a few words with some really minor points of criticism: the typography of the book—and this is, of course, no fault of the author—is hardly commendable: the Gothic initials are somewhat restive, the binding rather old-fashioned. There are a few typographical errors in the footnotes, particularly in the spelling of foreign names and words. But these are really quite unimportant points.

Neither is it very important that sometimes one cannot help feeling that the book, while very clearly written, is laid out in a somewhat too schematic way: most of the chapters start with the same formula ("In the post-Carolingian illumination," "In the twelfth century," "In the thirteenth century"), and they are arranged along the same line: a discussion of the treatment of the background in the different countries is followed by an examination of figure representation in these same regions according to the relation of the figures to the ground, their position in full-face, three-quarter, or profile view, and representation of drapery. No doubt such an arrangement results in clarity, but it is perhaps a bit too obvious and does not make for easy reading. In a similar way the same terms—"stratified space," "paneled background," "proscenium arch"—are repeated over and over. Again this is clarifying, but it is also somewhat schematic and results in a certain dryness. Still, this is perhaps hard to avoid in a doctoral dissertation. This same, perhaps unavoidable, schematization leads the author to separate the different stages of space representation somewhat too strictly. They follow one another as clearly-defined paradigmata, as a series of stages rather than as an historical development in which one phase would follow the preceding and lead towards the following one.

Of more importance are two basic questions. First: is it admissible to deal with space in painting only, or would it not have been advisable to tie up the problem for comparison's sake with that of the treatment of space in sculpture? As it stands now, it is sometimes difficult to understand certain developments because the preliminary stages of these developments are known from relief sculpture, while they are either unknown or do not appear in painting. To give just a few instances: the paneled background which plays such an important rôle in Romanesque miniatures occurs likewise in relief sculpture throughout the twelfth century. Panels decorated with tendrils like those in the Hardehausen Evangelary, ca. 1150, are frequent in Lombard as well as in Tuscan sculptures from at least the early twelfth century on:

they occur in the early bronze plaques of the S. Zeno doors at Verona, ca. 1100; in the Niccolò reliefs on the façade of S. Zeno, ca. 1140; in the Gruamons architrave of S. Andrea at Pistoia, 1166; in Antelami's *Deposition from the Cross* at Parma Cathedral, 1178. What is more important is that this very motive occurs in the Rambona diptych in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican as early as the tenth century, that is to say about two hundred years before it makes its appearance in paintings. This interrelation between sculpture and painting becomes even more clearly evident, and more important for the development, in the question of the architectural frame. According to the author it appears in tenth-, eleventh-, and twelfth-century painting, but evidently for the sole purpose of indicating an interior; only from the thirteenth century on does it become a "proscenium arch" enframing the scene as such, regardless of whether an interior or an exterior is represented. I doubt whether this generalization can be definitely supported even so far as painting is concerned: in the Missal of Robert de Jumièges, 1013-17, the scenes of the *Adoration of the Magi* and of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* are surrounded by an architectural frame although—at least in the latter representation—certainly an exterior, not an interior is depicted. The statement assuredly cannot be maintained if sculpture is taken into consideration: in a great many reliefs of the twelfth century, the scenes are surmounted either by a corbel-table frieze resting on flanking columns, or else they are surrounded by arcades or framed by columns and architraves, regardless of whether an interior or an exterior is represented. Thus the motive of the proscenium arch is anticipated in sculpture throughout the twelfth century. To cite just a few instances: the baptismal font at Freckenhorst, 1129; Willigelmo's Genesis reliefs at Modena, about 1100; the choir screens at Gustorf, middle of the twelfth century; the architrave reliefs at Ferrara Cathedral, 1135; the reliefs at S. Zeno at Verona underneath the tympanum, ca. 1140; the capitals from Antelami's ambo, now in the Museum at Parma, 1178; and so forth. Briefly, from 1120 on the architectural frame is a common feature in Italian as well as in German relief sculpture. While the development of the motive is not quite clear, one could possibly establish an ultimate derivation from pagan and Early Christian sarcophagi of the late antique period, such as the Junius Bassus sarcophagus at Rome or the Wedding Sarcophagus at Arles; eleventh-century sarcophagi such as the one at the Museum of S. Donato at Zara may have formed a connecting link. Yet this line is too fragmentary to allow for any definite statement. In France and in Byzantium, on the other hand, the architectural frame seems to remain characteristic for interior scenes; the scenes on the architrave (not on the frieze) of S. Trophime at Arles are among the few exceptions. Only during the thirteenth century does the proscenium arch become a requisite of French relief sculpture contemporaneously with its appearance in French miniatures (Aubazine, tomb of S. Etienne). Since the architectural frame as a mere proscenium arch seems actually without any forerunners in painting, and likewise without forerunners in French sculpture, the question naturally arises

whether it is a feature which first appeared in Italian sculpture and which migrated from there into French sculpture, and thence into painting. It might even be worth while investigating whether the architectural frame is anything but a remnant of what Mrs. Bunim calls stage space, which with other vestiges had been preserved in Italian sculpture from pagan and Early Christian antiquity throughout the Middle Ages. Through its survival in sculpture and its introduction into thirteenth-century painting, it would have contributed towards creating the Gothic stage space; for while Mrs. Bunim is right in saying that this new Gothic space is different in character from the stage space of antiquity, it does not follow that the two are historically unrelated. A discussion of the interlocking representations of space in sculpture and painting might in all likelihood have contributed towards establishing connecting links and thus towards clarifying the whole historical development.

There is a second question which preoccupies the reader throughout the book. Can Romanesque space representation be understood as a mere elimination of the third dimension from a three-dimensional space representation, and Gothic space representation as a subsequent reintroduction of a third dimension into the two-dimensional space representation of the Romanesque period, as an imperfect forerunner of the space representation of the Renaissance? Can the question be altogether posed this way? Is it justifiable to assume that the concept of space remained the same throughout the ages, and that what is different is only the way in which space is depicted? After all, space is not only represented in different ways in every given period; it is differently represented because it means something entirely different to the man of antiquity, to the man of the Middle Ages, to the man of the Renaissance, and probably also to ourselves. I cannot help feeling that to the artist of the high Middle Ages, for example of the twelfth century, the only things which existed were solids, while space was just a "no-thing," the mere interval between solids. In a Romanesque miniature (or a Romanesque relief) the figures, as Mrs. Bunim points out, stand side by side with as few overlappings as possible. Likewise the Romanesque architectural frame in the instances mentioned above consists of isolated arches, one beside the other; the spectator sees a pair of columns and an arch, he sees one figure and then the next one; he does not really traverse the distance between the solids, he just ignores it. This is no longer true of the thirteenth century; the architectural frames of the Psalter of Saint Louis (and one might as well quote the architectural sketches of Villard de Honnecourt) no longer consist of isolated solids. They form a continuous surface; the eye is expected to travel along them, to traverse with their help the distance from shaft to shaft, from figure to figure. Still, while distance is now realized as an active artistic factor, this is *not* space in the modern sense of a three-dimensional continuum through which everything has to move. In the thirteenth century, solids are seen on a continuous plane, but they are seen on a *plane*. If one turns to architecture (the author once alludes to it in two sentences), one finds the same principles:

in a Gothic cathedral the distance from pier to pier, from wall to wall, has become active; the eye does not jump from solid to solid as in Romanesque edifices. Yet what is seen is a sequence of transparent planes, not a fluid continuum. What is created is a Gothic space, not an imperfect Renaissance or modern space. Romanesque as well as Gothic space are spaces in their own right, although both our terminology and our imagination may not be adequate to describe them; and because they are spaces in their own right, they are differently represented.

I should like to emphasize that I am making these points merely to supplement Mrs. Bunim's thesis. The very fact that they can be made goes to prove how stimulating and thought-provoking the book is, and how grateful one must be to Mrs. Bunim, and to Professor Meyer Schapiro who set the problem and who supervised her research. To sum up its achievements: it tackles a most complicated problem based on an amazing knowledge of medieval painting. It clarifies the different ways in which "space" is represented, and explains for the first time in a perfectly convincing way the origin of the medieval stratified, vertically striped, or patterned background. It clearly differentiates Gothic from Romanesque space representation; the comparison between the late eleventh-century Charter of S. Martin-des-Champs and its thirteenth-century copy is one of the most enlightening passages of the book. It shows the basic differences between Byzantine and western space representation and the intermediary position of Italian medieval painting, and it explains the new representation of space in Italian Trecento art. It states the differences between antique and medieval space representation, analyzes their different qualities, and shows the various stages of a long development. Through this careful study Mrs. Bunim has been able to clarify to a large degree one of the most important aspects of medieval art and of its relation to both antiquity and the Renaissance.

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER  
Vassar College

A. G. I. CHRISTIE, *English Medieval Embroidery*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1938. Pp. xviii + 206; 159 plates, colored frontispiece + 153 figs. in text. 12 guineas.

Mrs. Christie's corpus of English medieval embroidery is the result of at least twenty-five years of assiduous investigation and painstaking study in many countries of Europe. It is a sumptuous book composed of a long and very carefully prepared descriptive catalogue preceded by an introduction, and no less than one hundred and fifty-nine plates of ecclesiastical vestments, or fragments thereof, dating for the most part between ca. 1250 and ca. 1350—the century in which the most noteworthy examples were produced of that unrivalled embroidery referred to in contemporary inventories as *opus Anglicanum*. These splendid plates with their many details (two extraordinarily fine color plates are included) make it possible for the first time for the student of English medieval art fully to comprehend the development of *opus Anglicanum* on the solid basis of a

nearly complete corpus of illustrations, and to realize its full importance and beauty. They are eloquent commentary on the enthusiasm for English embroideries displayed by Pope Innocent IV, who remarked in 1246 that "England is truly for us a garden of delights, verily an inexhaustible well"; whereupon, according to the chronicler, he ordered most of the Cistercian abbots in England to send without delay as many embroidered orphreys for the adornment of his chasubles and copes as they could lay their hands upon.<sup>1</sup> Succeeding popes certainly shared Innocent's admiration of English embroidery, and in the inventories of Boniface VIII and Clement V at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, there are frequent references not only to orphreys of *opus Anglicanum* but to complete copes and chasubles marvelously wrought in thread of gold and colored silks with figures of apostles and saints, and histories of Christ and the Virgin.

Mrs. Christie's descriptions of the embroideries are extremely full and clear, and are regularly accompanied by key plans that make it easy to follow her account of the elaborate iconography of many of these vestments; and she has scrupulously tried to gather together all that is actually known about their histories, including sometimes their vicissitudes. Occasionally she has cleverly reconstructed an original vestment from existing fragments: a cope, for instance, which once existed in the treasury of the Cathedral of Anagni and possibly in recent times was cut to pieces in order to furnish most of the materials for the making of two dalmatics now in the Sacristy of the Cathedral.<sup>2</sup> And she has shown how various cuttings and resewings turned a chasuble into the well-known Syon cope now in the South Kensington Museum.<sup>3</sup> At the end of her discussion of each vestment in the descriptive catalogue she has appended a bibliography, generally complete.

In an introduction of thirty pages the author gives a diligent and useful account, which is thoroughly documented, of the importance and fame of English embroidery in the Middle Ages and attempts to sum up the general characteristics of *opus Anglicanum*. She remarks briefly, among other things, on the proportions and certain physical characteristics of the figures represented, the dramatic and expressive qualities of the style, and the development of the surface design on the great copes from scroll-work through geometric patterns of circles, followed by barbed quatrefoils, to architectural arcades. She notes the elaborate use of masks, birds, foliage, and heraldic shields as decorative elements; and she includes a very brief discussion of the iconography of the sacred scenes and saints. Also included are interesting sections on materials and technique, subjects on which Mrs. Christie's long first-hand experience with the stitching of these vestments enables her to speak with authority. Her descriptions of the

various stitches, which she illustrates with diagrams, and of the purposes for which some of them were used, are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the technique of *opus Anglicanum*. At the end of her introduction are two appendices, the first a valuable collection of documents relating to embroidery workers and the purchase of embroideries in England from the seventh to the fourteenth century; the second a sampling of items describing objects of *opus Anglicanum* from such famous inventories as those of the Vatican in 1295 and in 1361, and of St. Paul's, London, in 1295.

Every student of English medieval art will be grateful to Mrs. Christie not merely for her new contributions to our knowledge of the fame, technique, and economic history of *opus Anglicanum*, but chiefly for the fullness of her descriptive catalogue and her rich corpus of illustrations. Her avowed chief purpose "to establish, as fully as present knowledge allows, a corpus of the existing embroideries produced in England before the close of the fourteenth century" she has accomplished magnificently, and in cases of doubtful provenance she is never, one may add, unduly assertive of English origins. But occasionally Mrs. Christie suggests connections between *opus Anglicanum* and the general history of English medieval art. And it is because she has not sufficiently investigated these connections, or been more critically suggestive concerning the relationship of *opus Anglicanum* to medieval art and history—because in short she makes *opus Anglicanum* appear a kind of *hortus deliciarum* complete unto itself without seeing it sufficiently in broader perspective—that the book requires some criticism, if not from the point of view of the antiquarian or connoisseur, at least from that of the historian of art.

In the first place, the author has paid scant attention to many interesting connections between the style and iconography of *opus Anglicanum* and English manuscript illumination of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. A very few plates in her volume would have served to make these relationships clear. She remarks for instance (p. 136) on the similarity of style between an early fourteenth-century English manuscript in the collection of Lord Leicester in Holkham Hall<sup>4</sup> and the cope in Madrid, but fails to say in what this consists, or to note an even closer likeness between the rude and vigorous manner of rendering the draperies in sharp contrasts of light and shade in the Leicester manuscript and the excited, impressionistic drapery style, so very English in character, of the famous cope in the Sacristy of St. John Lateran. She could in her introduction have said far more than she has about the English Gothic style: its linear vitality, its expressive awkwardness and angularity; and she might have contrasted it with the greater reasonable-

1. Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1877, IV, pp. 546-47.

2. This reconstruction was first published some years ago in an article entitled "A Reconstructed Embroidered Cope at Anagni," *Burlington Magazine*, XLVIII, 1926, 65-77.

3. Cf. Mrs. Christie's article, "Notes on the Syon Cope," *Burlington Magazine*, LXI, 1932, 252-58.

4. See M. R. James, "An English Bible-Picture Book of the Fourteenth Century," *Walpole Society Publications*, XI, 1922-23, 1-27, pls. I-XIX, and L. Dorez, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkham Hall, Norfolk*, Paris, 1908, pp. 34-41, pls. XXIII-XXVIII. Dr. Hanns Swarzenski has called my attention to an early fourteenth-century English Psalter of similar style in the Walters Art Gallery (ms 105).



ness and elegance, though less expressive character, of the contemporary French style. Very occasionally she notes an iconographic parallel between embroidery and manuscript illumination,<sup>5</sup> but her attention to iconography is largely limited to description, and she is content to remark (p. 10) on the passiveness with which the English medieval designer followed traditions authoritatively laid down, without remarking on the fact that English iconography at times developed rather striking idiosyncrasies.

Thus the unusual manner in which, in the scene of the *Nativity* (pl. cxl), the designer of the Pienza cope has represented the midwife holding the child as she stands in the center of the composition behind the manger (Mary in front reclines at the left, Joseph sits at the right)<sup>6</sup> is found again in English manuscripts of the early fourteenth century, for instance in the rudely expressive Bible-picture book of Lord Leicester noted above,<sup>7</sup> and in the Tiptoft Missal, an East Anglian manuscript of like date in The Pierpont Morgan Library.<sup>8</sup> Again, the scene of the *Supper at Emmaus* on the Lateran cope (pl. ciii) is a curious fusion of the moment when Christ seated at the table between the disciples breaks bread, and of His vanishing from their sight. In the upper part of the scene He is ascending into the clouds, only the lower part of His body being visible to the disciples who gaze upward in astonishment. This telescoping of two moments in the event is, to the best of the reviewer's knowledge, a characteristically English invention occurring once again in *opus Anglicanum* (pl. cxliv) and also in English manuscript illumination, for instance in Arundel ms 83 in the British Museum, an East Anglian manuscript of the early fourteenth century,<sup>9</sup> and one that has been shown to have other iconographic affinities with *opus Anglicanum*.<sup>10</sup> Many other interesting iconographic correspondences between embroideries and manuscripts could be cited, and it may be said further in

this connection that Mrs. Christie has not noted several possible sources for iconographic representation in English medieval literature. The vivid language of a medieval legend of St. Margaret, for instance, is literally translated into visual imagery on the Steeple-Aston cope (pl. cxviii) in the scene in which St. Margaret, her hands pressed together in prayer, is actually issuing from the back of the dragon who had swallowed her, but who burst asunder when she made the sign of the cross within his belly: "... his body toburst amid-hips, and the blessed maiden wholly unmarred without every wem (pollution) went out of his womb, herryng on high her High Healer in Heaven."<sup>11</sup>

For the general aspect of the richly embroidered copes of the early fourteenth century, with their surface-pattern of elaborately-conceived arcades with ogee arches and intertwining foliated columns for which birds or lions' heads or foliated masks serve as capitals, one finds a very clear parallel, and in all probability the immediate prototype, in the richly elaborate design of the large pages of the great East Anglian Psalters of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Particularly the broad borders of these pages with their intertwining stems that put forth leaves and flowers, and their abundance of birds and animals often naturalistically treated, offer a very clear stylistic parallel to the arcaded copes, illumination and embroidery alike testifying to the fresh and delightful inventiveness of the English Gothic imagination. Had Mrs. Christie reproduced, for instance, the Beatus pages from the Gorleston and St. Omer Psalters<sup>12</sup> and commented on the iconographic and decorative resemblances between them and a number of early fourteenth-century embroideries, she would have done much to enable the reader to see *opus Anglicanum* in its intimate relationship with English Gothic art in general.

Mrs. Christie's chronology of *opus Anglicanum* is reasonable. It is based on considerations chiefly of style and of surface-pattern, the latter showing a development from repeated circles which cover the

5. For instance on p. 101, where she describes the *Miracle of the Cornfield* on the cope in the Sacristy of the Cathedral of Anagni and compares it to a like representation in the Leicester manuscript.

6. Thus represented the *Nativity* also occurs in a water-color drawing of a cope now lost; see p. 183 and pl. cxliv.

7. See James, *op. cit.*, pl. vi.

8. Ms 107, fol. 23. Reproduced in M. R. James's *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, London, 1906, opp. p. 14.

9. Fol. 133. See E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, Paris and Brussels, 1928, pp. 46 and 79. Rendered in this fashion, the *Supper at Emmaus* had already occurred a few years earlier in a book of Bible pictures of the late thirteenth century (St. John's College, Cambridge, ms K. 21, fol. 57). But before this time the scene seems to have been rendered in the usual manner with Christ breaking bread, or else, as in the case of several Psalters of the early thirteenth century, with the disciples gazing upward at the disappearing figure of Christ who is not, as in the Arundel and St. John's College manuscripts of about a century later, also seated at the table. For this representation of Christ's disappearance see British Museum, Royal ms 1 Dx, fol. 5v (reproduced in J. A. Herbert, "A Psalter in the British Museum . . . Illuminated in England Early in the Thirteenth Century," *Walpole Society Publications*, III, 1913-14, pl. xlvii); British Museum, Arundel ms 157, fol. 11v.; Trinity College, Cambridge, ms B. 11.4, fol. 3v). The telescoping of two moments in the scene seems first to appear around 1300.

10. See the discussion of the cope of Skå by A. Branting and A. Lindblom, *Medieval Embroideries and Textiles in Sweden*, Uppsala and Stockholm, 1932, 1, 96-100.

11. *Sainte Margherete, the Maiden and Martyr*, ed. O. Cockayne, London, 1886, p. 60. For further discussion of this legend in its relation to *opus Anglicanum*, and of other matters concerning literary sources and iconography, see the reviewer's article, "An English Gothic Embroidery in the Vatican," *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, III, 1932, 7 ff.

12. Reproduced in Millar, *op. cit.*, pls. 15 and 19. One should also compare the border of heads enclosed in circles formed of vine stems in the Tiptoft Missal, fol. 142 (see note 8) and of heads in quatrefoils in an early fourteenth-century Psalter (ms 76) in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, fols. 26 and 34 (cf. *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1908, p. 26 and pl. 51), with the bands of heads in eight-pointed stars on the Bologna cope (pl. cxii) and with the heads in circles formed of vine stems on the Plandiura chasuble (pl. lxvii-lxix). The use of heads in medallions of one kind or another for decoration was a marked characteristic of English art of this period. For the use of a lion's head as a kind of architectural capital see again the Tiptoft Missal, fol. 142, and cf. the Butler-Bowdoin cope (pls. cxxv ff.), the chasuble in the Metropolitan Museum (pls. cxxx1 ff.), and the cope of red silk in S. Bertrand-de-Comminges (pl. lxxx). The foliated masks that occur on the latter and on the Steeple-Aston (pls. cxiv ff.) and Vich copes (pls. cxxx1 ff.) may be compared with very similar masks on various pages of British Museum, Royal ms 10 E iv (Decretals written in Italy, but illuminated in England in the early fourteenth century; see Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 83), e.g., fols. 4, 44, 171<sup>v</sup>.

surface of the vestment, through barbed quatrefoils or variations thereof, to architectural arcades that become more and more fancifully elaborate as time goes on (p. 8). The surface design in scroll work (as, for instance, a *Tree of Jesse*) occurred, she believes, the earliest of all, and it is true that there are several early examples of this pattern on sandals and buskins; but it is probably inaccurate to say that scroll patterns preceded circles, for both are mentioned in early inventories; and the existing vestments that represent the *Tree of Jesse* (pls. LXIII ff.) date close to the year 1300 when circles had had their day as surface-pattern and even quatrefoils were about to be supplanted in general by architectural arcades. The inventories Mrs. Christie could have used to good advantage to give more precision to her chronology; she could also have used them even more than she already has as contemporary commentary on examples of embroidery which she illustrates. Thus in the very important inventory of 1245 of St. Paul's Cathedral in London,<sup>13</sup> which she has apparently neglected, occur the first notices of a cope and chasuble embroidered with the *Tree of Jesse*, not to mention lions in circles, angels with thuribles, trees and birds, stags, stars and moons, *sagittarii*, and other decorative motives that occur in *opus Anglicanum*. In the inventory of St. Paul's of 1295, from which the author quotes interesting items in Appendix II, she might have noted the description of a burse that accords perfectly with the only burse known to survive from the great period of *opus Anglicanum* (pl. cvii): "Item, alia capsula (for *corporalia*) cujus campus aureus bene diasperatus, de aurofilo, cum ymaginibus Crucifixi, Mariae et Johannis, ex una parte, et Corona beatae Virginis, et campo consimili ex alia . . ." <sup>14</sup> She might also have pointed out that in this inventory occur the first descriptions of scenes and individual figures embroidered in circles,<sup>15</sup> and the first indications of a developed and extensive iconography. Again, in the important inventory of Pope Clement V, dated 1311,<sup>16</sup> which Mrs. Christie does not mention, occur the first elaborate descriptions of great English copes and chasubles with scenes and figures wrought in colored silks set against a ground completely embroidered in gold—descriptions which, if they do not tally exactly with the great gold-embroidered copes like those at S. Bertrand-de-Comminges, Madrid, and the Lateran, prove conclusively that *opus Anglicanum* had attained its apogee in gorgeousness,

rich variety of pattern, and extensive iconography at the very beginning of the fourteenth century. In this inventory occurs also what is probably the first mention of a surface pattern of quatrefoils, an orphrey being described as embroidered "cum quattuor magnis compassibus quadrangulatis."<sup>17</sup> Finally, in the Canterbury inventory of 1315, three copes are said to be embroidered with quatrefoils—"contextae magnis quadrangulatis"<sup>18</sup>—and one finds for the first time many examples of vestments embroidered "imaginibus stantibus in tabernaculis"<sup>19</sup>—clearly a reference to the surface pattern of architectural arcades which finally supersedes that of quatrefoils. Thus in selecting items from inventories for Appendix II, Mrs. Christie might have done well to choose those that indicate the chronological development of *opus Anglicanum*, and to have discussed this development in the light of such important documentary evidence. A list of important inventories would also have been useful to scholars.

One or two other matters call for brief comment. John of Thanet, a monk of Christchurch, Canterbury, whose name appears on the beautiful panel of embroidery in the Victoria and Albert Museum (pl. LXXXVI) did not die in 1330 (see p. 134, note 1), but in 1320.<sup>20</sup> Mrs. Christie has not noted that he was professed at Christchurch ca. 1279, and that he was elected Abbot of Battle in 1298 and resigned in 1308.<sup>21</sup> The occurrence of his name three times in the Canterbury inventory of 1315 in connection with vestments in the Cathedral treasury already marks him, as Mrs. Christie well suggests, as a person of importance, and the latest information about him is emphatic confirmation of this fact. Apropos of the two copes in the Sacristy of the Cathedral of S. Bertrand-de-Comminges, one of which (and probably both) were presented by Pope Clement V on the occasion of a visit in 1309, it is perhaps worth suggesting that they might have been conveyed to the Pope by a distinguished Englishman, Walter de Stapledon, who before he was elected to the bishopric of Exeter in 1307, was Chaplain to Clement. According to an inventory of Exeter Cathedral taken in 1327 (see footnote 14 below), he possessed a number of handsome vestments of *opus Anglicanum*. In 1306 he went to France on a political mission and might, in the normal course of events, have visited the Pope who spent most of that year in Bordeaux, and have presented him with some handsome vestments of English embroidery.<sup>22</sup>

But if Mrs. Christie has not herself carried out a number of investigations of importance to the student of English medieval art, she has certainly provided the means for others to do so. This reviewer

13. See W. S. Simpson, "Two Inventories of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, dated respectively 1245 and 1402," *Archaeologia*, L, 1887, 473 ff.

14. See W. Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London*, London, 1658, p. 217. Cf. G. Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Exeter, 1861, p. 317, for the description, in an inventory of the Cathedral taken in 1327, of another burse (*repositorium pro corporalibus*) with the same iconography, given by the executors of Bishop Walter de Stapledon (d. 1326).

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 211: "Unum vestimentum . . . cum parura de purpuro sameto, breudata de historia beati Nicholai in circulis aureis," cited by Mrs. Christie on p. 102 in connection with the Anagni chasuble which is embroidered with the story of St. Nicholas; and p. 212: a vestment "cum parura breudata de Regibus sedentibus in Cathedra infra circulos."

16. *Regesti Clementis Papae V ex Vaticanis archetypis . . . nunc primum editi cura et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti Appendices*, Tomus I, Rome, 1892, pp. 412 ff.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 412.

18. See J. Dart, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, London, 1726, Appendix no. VI, p. v.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. v, vii, ix.

20. See *Causton's Obituary*, Christ Church, Canterbury, MS D. 12, fol. 16. I owe this information to the late Sir Charles Cotton, former Cathedral Librarian.

21. See F. Lambarde, "John of Thanet," *Sussex Notes and Queries*, v, 1934. Professor A. J. B. Wace kindly called my attention to this notice.

22. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, LIV, 1898, 92-93, and accompanying references.

has only admiration for the patience and devoted care with which she has gathered together and described a notable body of material. The inspiration for such a long and difficult, but certainly rewarding task, must have been an enthusiasm for *opus Anglicanum* at least as great as that of Pope Innocent IV in the thirteenth century.

RENSSELAER W. LEE  
Smith College

NIKOLAUS PEVSNER, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, Cambridge, University Press; New York, The Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xiv + 323; 17 plates. \$6.00.

This volume is a detailed and generally comprehensive history of official, state-controlled, and state-supported schools of art from their beginnings in the sixteenth century to the present day. After a glance at Greece, Pevsner introduces his subject by describing the founding of the first humanist "academies" of learning in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the first academies of letters during the same period, and those of letters, science, and the dance inaugurated in France by Richelieu and Colbert in the seventeenth century. Pevsner then turns his attention to the art academy. He traces this from the Accademia Leonardi Vinci, concerning whose character he is undecided, through Vasari's abortive Accademia del Disegno, to the Roman Accademia di S. Luca, which owed its immediate form to the initiative of Federigo Zuccari. The third chapter is devoted to "Baroque and Rococo"; it includes a detailed account of the foundation of the Paris academy under Le Brun and its struggle with the *matrise*; an exposition of the academy's curriculum and the theory of its teaching sequence, and of how the new system, reaching from the artist's first education through his election to its highest honors, fitted in with the supervision and centralization of all activity more widely expressed in the theories of mercantilism. The chapter closes with an account of the belated copying of the French system in England, in Austria, and in the smaller states of Germany and northern Europe. Then follows a description of the continuation of these academies during the neo-classicism of the second half of the eighteenth century, and how, though based upon the seventeenth-century model, their program showed a growing systematization and "academization," and, under the influence of the ideas of the Enlightenment, an idealization of the artist, while at the same time they expanded to include "elementary and trade classes." The section on the nineteenth century is devoted largely to a discussion of the German academies; Pevsner lays great stress upon the reforms instigated by the Nazarenes, their introduction of *Meisterklassen*, and finally their failure really to change the established system. The concluding chapter deals with "The Revival of Industrial Art and the Artist's Education Today." It begins with the concern (partly aesthetic, partly commercial) first felt in England about the decline of industrial design due to the introduction of the machine, and with the suggestions for reform made after the Exhibition of 1851 by Laborde, Semper, and Owen Jones. It then traces

a detailed history of the ideas of William Morris, the English Arts and Crafts movement, the further application of these ideas to the reform of the applied art and trade schools in Germany; analyzes the methods of the Bauhaus and eulogizes its system, especially as applied under the direction of Walter Gropius. Finally, skirting the situation in Russia because of the "distinctly inadequate" information available, and that in post-1933 Germany because "since the National Socialist Revolution things are again in a state of ferment" (*sic*), Pevsner concludes that "a growing tendency towards governmental enterprise [i.e., state academies of art] has become evident in England, too."

Throughout the description runs the main thread of Pevsner's argument: academies rose with absolutism in the sixteenth century when mannerism, its artistic reflection, replaced the earlier freedom of the Renaissance; they found their perfection and their social utility under Colbert who through their aid defined the social purpose of art (in the service of the state), and the social position of the artist (within a fixed hierarchy). Those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were but imitations of that of the seventeenth, which lost both their artistic and their social justification as liberalism and laissez-faire increasingly belied the unification their programs imply; until finally, at the end of the century, they were, as the advanced artists correctly understood, not merely useless, but prejudicial to art. The academy was restored to its former positive and useful rôle only under the Arts and Crafts, and, more convincingly, under the Bauhaus, which reformed their systems to conform to the realities of a machine age and the necessity of producing designs applicable to it, and thus produced industrial designers conversant with the machine rather than pure artists. In the future, concludes Pevsner, "art education in one consciously accepted and promoted style is possible . . ." only through state interference, "and only at the expense of civic liberties." "A school such as the Bauhaus is certainly possible only as a State school, and can—of course—only be successfully run by one strong personality, and not by means of Committees and majority votes."

The reviewer pretends to no detailed competence in the whole range of periods covered by this book. Except for the material dealt with in the last two chapters, Pevsner himself is largely working through secondary sources, and he has brought together an exact and extended documentation that goes far to illuminate the artist's social position. It is undoubtedly Pevsner's own special knowledge and interest that weight the book rather too heavily with the details of the programs and discussions of the minor German academies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the wealth of schools seems almost matched by the dearth of artists. Outstanding errors of fact are few: the date of Leonardo's death is given as 1516; Prud'hon is misspelled as Proudton; Delacroix is mentioned as having a large private atelier and many students (in the manner of Gleyre and Couture). That Pinder (official head of Nazi art history) should be referred to (in a footnote) as "the greatest of living German art historians" is perhaps



a matter of taste, but that in a discussion of the "conception of Mannerism as a genuine, universal, and clearly definable style . . . Dvořák and Pinder are the two names chiefly to be recorded," is, to say the least, a grievous oversight. Rembrandt's isolation at the end of his life, and the notion of his art as the "meditation of a recluse" is rather exaggerated, in order to stress the disadvantage to the Dutch artist (in contrast to the fixed position and assured patronage of the contemporary Frenchman) of producing for a free, but often capricious market. In this connection Pevsner also neglects to mention that those painters today considered the chief ornaments of French painting of the seventeenth century—the elder Le Nains, Claude, Poussin—either were active before the foundation of the Académie in 1648, or preferred to remain apart from it.

Pevsner states that his book is not a "pure compilation of facts," but, since ours is a "century of Liberalism declining, and Absolutism returning . . . and patient, unbiased research on the downgrade," an example of how "to reconcile scholarship and direct utility." It is therefore not too much to say that Pevsner's interpretation of the recent past, and his implications for the near future, are crucial in our judgment of the "direct utility" of his book; and that in spite of the excellence of most of his history, a series of omissions takes on a particular significance. No mention is made of the academies of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, though these countries have done much to advance the modern architecture and decoration which Pevsner sees as the style of the future, and have done it through governmental agencies. Here would be an argument better than "the case of the Futurists in Italy," which Pevsner cites, that "an advanced style is by no means necessarily anti-governmental." For, as Pevsner does not state, those Futurists who obtained official positions under Fascism simultaneously abandoned their "advanced style" for a warmed-over neo-classicism. And lately Fascism has even given up the slight contemporaneity of its architecture. The process and the reasons for which Russia went from a "modern architectural style" to "an academism of the old type" are well known and need not be passed over because of "distinctly inadequate" information. Nor are the position of the artist in Germany since 1933, and the attitude of the Nazi government toward art, to be described as in a "state of ferment," when the reaction against everything represented by the Bauhaus is one of their fundamentals. It is thus correct to say that in the totalitarian states "the majority of progressive artists . . . seem strongly to resent the State interference." But it is incorrect to conclude that this "is probably due to the many mistakes which were made in the nineteenth century." In other words, the dichotomy Pevsner makes is only partially correct: the state may ignore the arts, or it may take an interest in them, but these attitudes may be equally reactionary; and they will be so as long as there is a fundamental opposition between the place assumed by the artist and that which the state assigns to him, whether by its indifference or by its "interference." It must not be forgotten that for the majority of artists Colbert's system was a

step upward; those for whom it was not (e.g., Mignard) objected to it. As for the artist in the role of the lawless genius, we must remember that he took on this guise only in self-defense after a half century of constant rebuff. The problem then is essentially one of an accord (in fundamentals, not in details) between the artist and his society, and if the history of the lack of success of laissez-faire is given in detail, as Pevsner rightly gives it, the failures of totalitarianism must also be recounted at length. Nor should an historian like Pevsner (who says that it is no use "pretending that the past was exactly like the present") forget that the Absolutism of the twentieth century is not that of the seventeenth, and that in the sphere of artistic activity, as in any other, whatever measure of state supervision the public good and a changed technology of living necessitate, no "interference" will be successful which tries to ignore the self-consciousness of the individual that the last four centuries have developed.

ROBERT J. GOLDWATER  
Queens College and New York University

JOHN McANDREW, ed., *Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1940. 126 pps., illustrated. 25 cents.

It is not so many years ago that the writer remembers rather humorously the surprise of a friend who discovered that there was a Baedeker of the United States! Americans have usually considered Europe the land of guide books. Such books were something only for remote lands—something to use, and romantically at that, when one was far from home. There has been in the past little systematic attention paid by travelers in this country to ferreting out objects of interest. In the main, the railroads have taken the initiative. Time tables gradually came to be supplemented with "notes" pointing out to the traveler the important facts concerning the places through which he was traveling. In the last few years, however, historical societies in this country have awakened to the value of their own historical surroundings, and, more important, the government has begun an extensive publication of excellent general guides to cities and sections of the country. But these, superior publications many of them, have been of necessity general in scope. The specialist must hunt in their pages for his own particular interest.

The publication by the Museum of Modern Art of a *Guide to Modern Architecture: Northeast States*, under the direction of John McAndrew, is therefore unique, and it is to be hoped that more of this kind of specialized guide, the importance of which can hardly be overestimated, will follow.

In the first place, this is a highly practical kind of guide book. It avoids all the pitfalls of overemphasis on unnecessary detail, and it contains a very concise and quite adequate introduction of only nine pages, describing and defining the contents of the book. In this introduction, the layman will find much simple information regarding not only the definition of modern architecture, but also an adequate description of what modern architecture attempts.

To those who have been interested in the develop-

ment of modern architecture in this country, a curious paradox exists. The conspicuous quality of the style has made one feel that there has been a considerable amount of contemporary modern building. It is, therefore, something of a shock to discover that, as the guide points out, "The structures listed in this Guide represent less than 1% of all the building in the northeastern states during the last ten years. The environment we are building for ourselves and our children includes the 99% omitted:

Thousands of speculative jerry-built developments—many of them unfit for habitation by any humane standards

Thousands of medium-priced houses built in fear and flight from the 20th century, neo-Colonial, neo-Tudor, neo-Norman, neo-Hollywood-Spanish

Costlier homes in timid 'good taste'

Many nondescript apartment houses, crowding our residential areas

Pseudo-Gothic colleges, Colonialoid high schools and banks

Modernistic shoppes, airports, and movie theatres

Blocks of undistinguished commercial and industrial buildings, packing us more densely into the noisy, dirty, airless hearts of our cities, or scarring our countryside."

This sums up the negative side of the question, but as one thumbs through the book, two important facts regarding modern building stand out. In the first place, the rather surprising distribution of modern architecture through the territory which the guide covers, and secondly, the more important fact that a great deal of this work lies within the range, especially so far as domestic architecture is concerned, of reasonably modest expense. From that one can point to a valuable lesson. Modern building can be reasonably inexpensive and yet distinctively arranged for the personal living tastes of the individual. This fact will contradict seriously the idea held by many laymen that the building of a modern house is unnecessarily expensive and therefore only for the esoteric few.

The format of the book is handy. The work illustrated is arranged by states, and there is an excellent index of building types. In many cases a floor plan of the building is indicated. In all, the work is shipshape and useful and will be greatly welcomed by many people, not only students but laymen, who are genuinely interested in forming a critical idea of what has been done in this section of the country in contemporary architecture. It should further wise building.

JERE ABBOTT  
Smith College

HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, *American Architectural Books, A List of Books, Portfolios and Pamphlets Published in America before 1895*. 169 mimeographed sheets, including errata; privately circulated.

In 1899 George Clarence Gardner, in an article in W. R. Ware's *The Georgian Period*, suggested that "it would be interesting if some one better fitted than

myself could make a much fuller catalogue of these earliest American works on architecture." The catalogue now exists, although at the moment in mimeographed form only. Professor Hitchcock's bibliography merits, therefore, not so much a review as a notice which may apprise students of American architecture of its existence, and give them a description of its contents. It deserves notice because of its monumental character and because, although technically unpublished, it is available for use, since there are copies in many of our libraries.

The wealth of architectural titles of European and American origin available to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century builder in America has been commented upon by a number of writers. But the number of purely American imprints contained in this check-list must be a surprise to most workers in this field, since no previous bibliography has contained more than a small fraction of the titles which appear here. In 1899 George Gardner enumerated only seventeen. In 1924 A. J. Wall, in an essay hidden in *A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames*, listed twenty-one architectural titles by eleven American authors published between 1775 and 1830. Despite its limited scope, this remained the standard published bibliography until the advent of Mr. Hitchcock's, which includes not only the early builders' handbooks, but all titles available before 1895.

Works can be made definitive only by encompassing a definable area. The latest date for titles appearing in this list is 1895, chosen, one imagines, because the number of publications on architecture increased by leaps and bounds after the appearance of Montgomery Schuyler's *American Architecture* and the many works by William Rotch Ware, in the late 'eighties and early 'nineties.

This is in a sense a collaborative work, since practically all the more important libraries, architectural and otherwise, combed their shelf-lists for titles, corrections of titles, and details of collation, and many scholars turned over to Professor Hitchcock their own bibliographies. Thus it is a more complete census than any one man could conceivably have made it.

The help that Professor Hitchcock received can in no way minimize the credit due him for this work, since much labor on his part obviously went into it. In 1938 many libraries and persons interested in the history of American architecture received the preliminary list, with a request for additions and corrections. This list was put through the general checking possible only in the Union Catalogue at Washington, and through a similar checking in the Union Catalogue at Philadelphia. The important libraries of the mid-west were asked to help, together with those in the east. With the returns all in, it was possible to issue an enlarged edition, with the collations quite complete for something over 650 titles, some of which ran, of course, to many editions. All known editions of each title were included. Included also was the Union List of Serials code letters indicating the holders of the various titles—an invaluable addition to any bibliography. Thus the worker in any part of the country may save his librarian and himself much time when borrowing by inter-library

loan. Each library and scholar who participated received a copy, together with subsequent errata sheets; the work is therefore available in libraries at least as far west as St. Louis.

One wishes that there were more complete projects of this type in the field of Fine Arts, comparable to those existing in other fields, such as Gustave Lanson's *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne*. More such tools are becoming available, however, in American art—for example, the various magazine indices that are being compiled under government auspices. There is evidence that these tools will prove more and more useful, especially since European sources for research are temporarily closed.

It is to be hoped that this list may soon be published in printed form. Undoubtedly it will need a

subsidy, which should be obtainable for such a useful work. In the meantime, the student who wants to use the list will have to go to one of the libraries that has a copy. If publication is long delayed, perhaps some arrangement might be made for microfilm copies. Before it is published, this reviewer would suggest that all the code letters indicating holders of titles listed be made to agree with the code in the Union List of Serials. Included now among the holders are some initials of individuals; these are confusing and too much subject to change to keep the list as accurate as it now is. Their omission would be no great loss, since there are few, if any, titles listed that are not also owned by libraries.

FRANK J. ROOS, JR.  
Ohio State University

## LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

NABIH AMIN FARIS, ed., *Al-Hasan Ibn-Ahmad Al-Hamdani, "Al-Ikhlil"* (*Princeton Oriental Texts*, Vol. VII), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1940. \$5.00.

GUY M. WHIPPLE, ed., *Art in American Life and Education* (40th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education), Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co., 1941. Pp. xx+819 +xxxvi. Paper \$3.00; bound \$4.00.

ANTHONY BLUNT, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. viii+168; 12 plates. \$2.75.

K. A. C. CRESWELL, *Early Muslim Architecture, Part II, A.D. 751-905*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. xxvi+415; 123 plates+261 figs. 10s.

LOUIS DANZ, *Personal Revolution and Picasso*, with a speculation by Merle Armitage, New York, Longmans Green & Co., 1941. Pp. 165; frontispiece. \$2.75.

ERNEST T. DEWALD, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, Vol. III: Psalms and Odes, Part 1: Vaticanus Graecus 1927*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. 56; 73 plates. \$12.00.

*Drawings by Japanese Children*, Tokyo, Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (The Society for International Cultural Relations), 1940. 22 prints in color.

ALICE WILSON FROTHINGHAM, *Hispanic Glass*, New

York, Hispanic Society of America, 1941. Pp. xviii+204; 19 plates+100 figs. \$1.50.

YNEZ GHIRARDELLI, *The Artist, H. Daumier: Interpreter of History*, San Francisco, The Grabhorn Press, 1940. Pp. vi+78; 20 plates. \$15.00.

LOUISE WALLACE HACKNEY and YAU CHANG-FOO, *A Study of Chinese Paintings in the Collection of Ada Small Moore*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. xvi+279; 46 plates (5 in color). \$50.00.

ELEANOR M. MOORE, *Youth in Museums*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. Pp. ix+115; 12 plates. \$2.00.

GISELA M. A. RICHTER, *Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1940. Pp. xxiv+86; 173 figs. \$2.00.

WILLIAM SENER RUSK, *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor*, Baltimore, Norman T. A. Munder, 1939. Pp. xii+143; 24 plates.

RICHARD F. S. STARR, *Indus Valley Painted Pottery*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. xiii+106; 174 figs. +folding map. \$3.50.

MABEL MUNSON SWAN, *The Athenaeum Gallery, 1827-1873*, with introduction by Charles Knowles Bolton, Boston, The Boston Athenaeum, 1940. Pp. xiv+312; 10 plates. \$6.00.

THOMAS E. TALLMADGE, *Architecture in Old Chicago*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. xv+218; 28 plates. \$3.00.